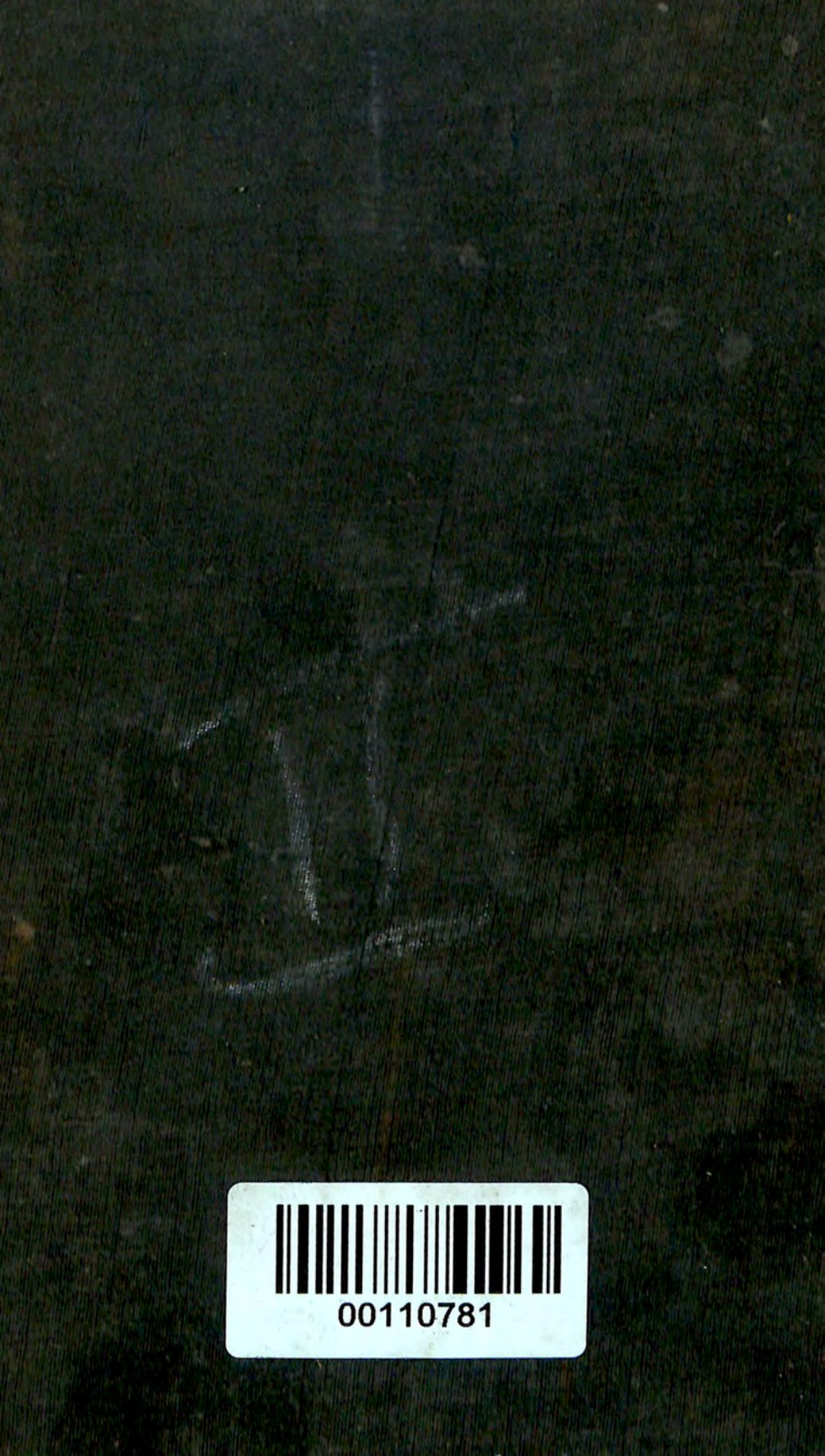
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THE

HISTORY

OF

THE REFORMATION

OF THE

Church of England;

BY

HENRY SOAMES, M.A.

RECTOR OF SHELLEY, IN ESSEX.

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VOL. II.

REIGN OF KING HENRY VIII.

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THE

HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION

DURING THE

REIGN OF KING HENRY THE EIGHTH.

CHAPTER V.

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WHATEVER gratification the King might have derived from the recent proceedings in Parliament,

and in the Convocation, an incident occurred about the beginning of this year, which plainly discovered that he felt some uneasiness when he reflected upon his differences with the Papal see. The Admiral Chabot arrived in England from the court of France, for the purpose of communicating to Henry some overtures which the French monarch had received from the Emperor. Charles now found himself obliged to watch the motions of a new enemy. Barbarossa, a bold and enterprising corsair, who had seized the throne of Tunis, kept in a state of constant alarm the Christians who peopled the shores of the Mediterranean. In justice to a large portion of his subjects, the Emperor was bound to restrain the incursions of this barbarian. Nor could it be overlooked, that if the Tunisian chief should be able to maintain his present imposing attitude, his alliance would soon be courted by such Christian states as were concerned to circumscribe the imperial power. By maintaining a respectable fleet at sea, the outrages and insolence of the pirates might indeed have been repressed. But the resources of Charles did not allow him to employ this expedient. He, therefore, determined upon crushing the nest of corsairs, by one decisive blow; and, accordingly, he made preparations for attacking, with an overwhelming force, the capital of Barbarossa. He could not, however, absent himself, and withdraw his troops from the continent of Europe, without feeling sensible that he should thus afford to his rival, Francis, a favour-

able opportunity for the renewal of the attempts so often made by the French upon the Milanese. To prevent, if possible, his African expedition from being rendered thus disadvantageous to his affairs, Charles endeavoured to gain over the court of France. Among the proposals by which he hoped to amuse Francis, was an offer to procure, as a wife for the Dauphin, the Princess Mary of England. When this offer was reported to Henry, he desired his agents at the French court to say in his name, that "he marvelled much at the Emperor's malice in meddling with things which belonged not to him, and therefore he desired Francis to surcease this treaty, since he knew well enough how to keep his daughter out of the Emperor's reach." He also gave instructions, that such representations should be made to the King of France as might convince him of the little dependence to be placed upon the imperial proposals. At the same time, as a counterbalance to Charles's simulated friendship, he offered to affiance his daughter Elizabeth to the Duke of Angouleme, the third son of Francis. With this proposal, Henry coupled a request to the French monarch for the exertion of his influence with the court of Rome. He was entreated to represent, that the new Pontiff would confer upon him an acceptable piece of service in revoking the censures which the late Pope had pronounced against the King of England; and in order to pave the way for this concession from the Papacy, it was recommended that he should

procure from his universities and nobility, a formal recognition of the marriage which Henry had contracted with Anne Boleyn. So intent was the English monarch upon the attainment of these objects, that he endeavoured to secure them both, by means of an embassy which he sent into France, in May, and by a direct application to the Pontiff, which he made through Sir Gregory Casali. The negociation, however, though opened at Rome to the satisfaction of all the parties interested, proved abortive; and it would not be worthy of notice, did it not unequivocally discover, that the King's affections were even yet not wholly weaned from the Papal see[a].

It is not however to be supposed, that Henry considered a reconciliation with the Pontiff as involving the necessity of retracting on his part all the concessions that he had made to the Reformers. Although in that age the outward forms of the Romish worship, and the principles of the Romish religion, were the same as those which the Papal Church still retains; yet there was one principle of essential importance, which indeed was generally recognised, but which had not been formally avowed by any assembly competent to declare the sense of the Roman Church. How far tradition was to prescribe in matters of faith, was as yet a point undetermined. Hence both Protestants and Romanists felt anxious for the meeting of a general council, in order to decide a

[a] Herbert, 179.

question which occasioned so many keen debates. The results likely to flow from the deliberations of such an assembly, appear to have engaged a considerable portion of the King's attention at this time. He probably thought, that if the ablest divines in Europe were assembled together, they might devise such a plan of mutual concession as would satisfy the expectations of all reasonable men. Nor, at the same time, was he altogether free from uneasiness when he reflected that the Pope and the Emperor might convene a council for their own political purposes alone, which would propose to itself, for one of its principal objects, the subversion of the existing English government. A general council, it was said, might be convoked by the Emperor's authority, and to its decrees Christians would be bound to yield an implicit obedience. If, however, Charles should choose to exercise this privilege thus claimed for the imperial crown, it was not difficult to foresee the manner in which his divines would dispose of any English questions that might be submitted to them. Reflection upon these things rendered the King desirous of consulting his prelates, both as to the Emperor's alleged privilege, and as to the degree of obedience which a council assembled by a single monarch, could reasonably exact from Christendom.

An opinion upon these points was drawn up under the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops, Tunstall, of Durham; Clark, of

Bath and Wells; and Goodrich, of Ely[b]. This document asserts, that the first four general councils[c] were convened by the authority of Roman emperors, because the power of those monarchs then extended over a large portion of the world; that the bishops of Rome have been suffered to usurp the privilege of calling councils, through the negligence of princes; that now, since the Roman empire has no general dominion, it is not the privilege of any particular sovereign to call a general council; but that, if one or more of those distinguished personages, who exercise the supreme power, should desire to assemble a number of men of unquestionable integrity, in a manner evidently fair, and for purposes undeniably good, then it would be incumbent upon the rulers of other states to concur in a design so laudable. To this expression of their sentiments, the subscribing prelates added a short statement, that in the ancient general councils, none signed the decrees except bishops and priests, because these individuals are the authorised expositors of God's Word.

Besides this document, has been preserved a speech upon the same subject, delivered by Cranmer. To what body it was addressed, does not appear; whether to the Privy Council, to the Up-

[b] It is printed by Bishop Burnet. (Hist. Ref. I. 273.) There is no date to it; but the Bishop assigns it, with great probability, to this period.

[c] Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon.

per House of Convocation, or to the House of Lords. Nor is the time of its delivery fixed by any other circumstance than by an allusion to the acts passed in the last session of Parliament, which are mentioned in it as having been recently enacted. It is to the following effect: "My Lords, as rich men fleeing from their enemies, carry with them all that they can, and endeavour to destroy or conceal such things as they are constrained to leave behind them; so the court of Rome has carefully preserved every thing to its advantage, while it has destroyed or concealed, as much as possible, every writing unfavourable to its pretensions. The long employment of this artful policy, has rendered it no easy task to discover the sentiments prevailing in primitive times respecting the Roman see. It is certain that many observations, directed by ancient authors against the pretensions of that see, are now lost, as appears from fragments of their writings yet remaining. In the extant works of the fathers, passages do certainly occur, which ascribe a Divine character to the Popedom. But then it is evident that such language is merely figurative; since the same writers apply it to every thing which appeared to them more than ordinarily worthy of their approbation. From the genuine remains of antiquity, therefore, the right of dictating to the Christian Church, assumed by the see of Rome, cannot be supported. Those who are aware of this truth, are thence led to infer, that religious controversies ought to be decided in a general

council. Assemblies bearing that name have certainly rendered to the Church important services. It should, however, be observed, that their designation is not strictly accurate. Even in the council of Nice, the bishops of Egypt, Asia, and Greece, were almost the only individuals of their order, who assisted at the deliberations. But the term, general, was applied to councils, because they were summoned by the Emperor's authority, and because their decisions have been ratified by the general concurrence of Christendom. The correctness of this definition may be proved by several authorities, and illustrated by the case of the council assembled at Arimini. More prelates met there than at Nice or Constantinople; yet the councils denominated from these latter places are termed general: a designation which has been denied to the council of Arimini. If, however, a council should be assembled, it will be inquired, to whom appertains the right of presiding in it? The earliest council, that of the Apostles, was directed by St. Peter and St. James. But in their days there were no contests about headship. Christ named no head. This omission, however, can no more be considered as a defect in his system, than a similar one is to be so esteemed in the Divine arrangements for the temporal government of men. God has committed the empire of the world to no one individual. The Church has, indeed, found the advantage of appointing particular prelates to preside over her several divisions. Hence archbishops have been

constituted the supreme directors of ecclesiastical affairs in their respective provinces. Among the Apostles, it indeed appears that St. Peter took the lead. But it is not certain that he ever was in Rome [d], nor have we any reason to conclude that

[d] It is remarkable, that neither in the epistle which St. Paul wrote to Rome, nor in any one of the six epistles which he despatched from that city, does he mention St. Peter. This omission has led some learned men to suppose, that the last-named Apostle never was in the ancient metropolis of Europe. At all events, it is not unreasonable to conclude from this circumstance, that St. Peter did not reside in Rome until after St. Paul had ceased to address the Church from that place. Bishop Tomline says, "Upon the whole it seems probable, as Lardner thinks, that St. Peter did not go to Rome till the year 63 or 64." (Elements of Christian Theology. Lond. 1804. I. 481.) The Bishop informs us in another place: "All ancient writers concur in asserting that St. Peter suffered martyrdom at Rome, in the first persecution of the Christians in the reign of Nero, probably in the year 65." From these statements it appears plainly enough, that there is no good reason for assigning more than a very short period to the residence of St. Peter in Rome. It is not therefore necessary to give implicit credit to the Romanists, when they assert that the great Apostle of the circumcision dignified by his residence and martyrdom the seat of their Pontiffs. A candid inquirer into St. Peter's history will rather assent to Cranmer's judgment upon this subject, and will feel satisfied that, upon the accounts of St. Peter's sojourn at Rome, no certain dependence can be placed. The Apostle's first Epistle does, indeed, furnish us with a reason for believing that the writer was addressing the Church from the imperial city. He appears to have written from Babylon. (1 Pet. v. 13.) By this appellation he has been supposed, with great probability, to have meant Rome; a city which is designated in the same manner in the book of Revelations. (ch. xviii.) The propriety of this designation is evident. In the plain of Shinar, the doctrine of the Patriarchal Church was fa-

his precedence was assigned to him on account of that city, nor are we told that he left it there. On

tally corrupted by superstitious or artful men, who assigned to their deceased ancestors the rank of mediators between God and human beings. Noah became Saturn, and Ham was canonized under the Gentile name of Jupiter. The consequence of this foul perversion was, that the creature soon thrust the Creator into neglect and oblivion. A similar doctrinal corruption is chargeable upon Papal Rome. Thence have issued formularies, by which the mediation of saints has been rendered the leading object of a Christian's prayers. In consequence, the ignorant Romanist, when under the pressure of distress, flies to the Virgin, or some other deceased personage, for relief. The Father of all goodness is forgotten, and the deluded worshipper puts his trust in one of whose power to help, or even hear him, he has not the slightest assurance. Thus religion has been corrupted in ancient Babylon and in modern Rome, in a manner precisely similar. Hence, in the New Testament, the name of the former city is mystically assigned to the latter. Probably, however, the Romanists would not be found very anxious to avail themselves of the only presumption to be collected from Scripture in favour of St. Peter's alleged residence in the Papal capital, but would rather rest their belief of this statement upon tradition. That is certainly in their favour, and it gives no disagreeable hints. Nor is it capable of being made to appear even highly probable that St. Peter was the Bishop of Rome. On the contrary, Irenæus, who lived in the latter part of the second century, and who is the earliest writer that speaks of St. Peter as having been concerned in founding the Church of Rome, says immediately afterwards, "When the blessed Apostles (St. Peter and St. Paul) had founded and built the Church, *they entrusted the office of bishop to Linus*." This passage exists in the original Greek: the former passage of Irenæus, assigning the foundation of the Roman Church to the two Apostles, is extant only in a Latin translation. Even, however, if the writer's words be correctly rendered, they are of very little value as a proof of St. Peter's personal connexion with the Roman Church; since, as Bishop

the contrary, we know that St. Peter's faith, not the dignity of any see, was the ground of his precedence. The Bishops of Rome, therefore, can claim nothing from St. Peter, except according to the degree in which they possess his faith. That a claim upon this score has not invariably descended to them, is evidenced by the cases of Liberius, and of some other Roman Bishops who have been condemned for heresy: and if, according to St. James, faith must be tried by works, the lives of many Popes have afforded shrewd presumptions against the soundness of their faith. Upon this subject I can join my own testimony to that of history. When at Rome, my Lords, I had ample opportunities of observing the late Pope and those about him. Nor do I hesitate to declare, from my own knowledge, that Clement's morals and administration were such as to draw, even from some of his cardinals, strong expressions of disgust. Inexcusable as is such corruption in one who ought to be distinguished by purity of life and conversation, no existing law provides for the moral delinquencies of a Pope. But, my Lords, surely new diseases require new remedies. If an heretical Pope be a fit subject for the cognizance of a council, who will deny that the simony, the avarice, and the irreligion of a Pontiff, should not expose him to the lash of those who

Marsh observes, "it is well known that reports may be propagated without contradiction, a hundred years after the event is said to have happened, especially when it flatters the vanity of those among whom it is propagated." Comp. View, 209.

are deliberating for the good of the Church? Indeed every man who leads a vicious life renders himself liable to be cut off from the communion of the Church. Nor is the pre-eminence claimed by the see of Rome any reason why this penalty should not be inflicted upon a vicious Pope. That pre-eminence flows only from the laws of men; laws which evidently ought to be repealed. It should however be remembered, that the paramount authority of the Papacy has never been admitted by those who are competent to decide upon such subjects. Anciently it was understood; and the Popes did not venture to deny the principle, that a general council was to be considered as superior to every other ecclesiastical authority. The council of Basil determined, that the Pope is the vicar of the Church, not the vicar of Christ; and that, therefore, he is accountable for his conduct to the Church. The council of Constance, and the divines of Paris have decided, that the Pope is subject to a general council. All, indeed, that the Pontiff can claim, even by the canon law, are the privileges of calling a general council, and of presiding in it. He has no authority to overrule it, or to put a negative upon its proceedings. Nor has a council the right to deliberate upon secular matters. Therefore, if such a body should condemn the King's conduct, no regard need be paid to its decision. Its business relates solely to the faith and discipline of the Church. With princes and politics it has no concern whatever. Nor are even its ecclesiastical constitutions to be

considered binding until they have been sanctioned by the governments of the countries in which they are designed to take effect. Nor ought a council to make any decree without great deliberation; and without a careful inquiry into the sense of Scripture as to the point at issue. Nor ought any attempt to be made to bind the consciences of men upon subjects which are not essential! Upon this principle I condemn the severity of Victor's conduct towards the Oriental Churches, when the time proper for the celebration of Easter was the subject of debate. In the human body, no member is cut off unless when seized by gangrene: so in the Church, no division ought to be anathematized unless for some most important cause. And should such a cause arise, the greatest moderation ought to be used in deciding upon it: nor ought any conclusion to be adopted, unless the acknowledged word of God, not the traditions of men, be its warrant. A conviction of this truth caused the divines of Paris to determine, that no council has authority to prescribe articles of faith which are not contained in Scripture. Indeed, as obedience was the condition of the Mosaic covenant, so faith is that of the Christian. Now the principles of Christian faith are recorded only in Scripture. I have therefore great doubts respecting the utility of councils. I am strongly disposed to believe, that a reference to the word of God is the only safe way in which religious controversies can be decided. The practice of the fathers confirms me in these doubts. The

saints, Ambrose, Jerome, and Austin, did in many things differ from each other, but they always appealed to Scripture as the common and certain standard. Indeed St. Austin expresses, in a very remarkable manner, the different estimation in which he held the words of Scripture, and those of the best and holiest fathers. At the same time, I am far from undervaluing the writings of these venerable authors. On the contrary, when they all concur in any exposition of a passage in the Sacred Volume, I am disposed to think that the Spirit of God did in that particular direct their minds; and I should consider that the man who opposed his own judgment to such a weight of authority, was possessed by a dangerous self-conceit. I am therefore willing to admit, that councils ought to be guided in their decisions by such expositions as have been agreed on by the doctors of the Church. If, however, a council should be assembled, it does not appear reasonable that the Pope should direct its deliberations. A judge should be impartial. It is most improper that he should sit upon the bench, and try a cause to which he himself is a party. In this situation the Pope stands respecting the points now controverted. He has already passed sentence upon them. He has therefore rendered himself unfit to act as judge in a court occupied with the examination of these questions. It is not even proper that he should be present during the deliberations of such a court, lest he should thereby influence its decisions. Nor need princes consider them-

selves bound by their engagements to support the pretensions of the Pope. If they find that their oath of obedience to him was taken under an erroneous conviction of his right to act as head of the Church, they are justified in withdrawing their necks from his yoke, as fully as any man would be in making his escape out of the hands of a robber. That princes are bound to extricate themselves from the Papal yoke must be evident to all who are acquainted with the true character of the Popedom. The court of Rome is so corrupt, that even a conscientious Pontiff could not do his duty by the Church. The truth of this assertion is shewn by the recent case of Pope Adrian. His intentions were good, but the cardinals and others about the Papal court being interested in maintaining existing corruptions, all his plans were rendered abortive[1]."

When men heard such sentiments as these openly advocated by an individual who was placed at the head of the national Church, and who was notoriously held in high estimation by the King, they could not fail of anticipating important ecclesiastical innovations. It is true, indeed, that neither in this speech, nor in any other public manner, had the Archbishop attacked the externals of the Romish worship; but he had invalidated the grounds upon which the whole Papal system stands. If, therefore, such a man were permitted at his will to undermine the foundation

[1] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 278.

of the Established Church, it required no great foresight to convince an observer that the superstructure would soon totter to its fall. If it were shewn that the Papal supremacy was founded in error or imposture; if it were believed that the decisions of councils, and of fathers, were only so far to be respected as they were consonant to the written word of God: then all the doctrines and ceremonies which could not be supported by a critical reference to Scripture, were evidently in danger of soon falling to the ground. All well-informed persons, whether Protestants or Romanists, were well aware that, upon Cranmer's principles, the peculiar features of the Papal Church must inevitably be obliterated. Refuse obedience to the Roman see, deny the validity of human traditions, establish Scripture as the sole rule of faith, and investigate its sense in the spirit of sound criticism, not in the shackles of mere authority; and the Protestant system is in fact adopted. It will be found, that all the innovations and corruptions which popular superstition and Papal artifice gradually engrafted upon the Catholic faith must be discarded. The religion which then will claim the inquirer's regards, will be that which, it is recorded, the Apostles preached, and which the Reformers restored.

The Primate's endeavours to remove from the English Church the corruptions which had sprung up during the middle ages, were however counteracted with great art and diligence. The Duke of Norfolk, and the Bishop of Winchester, lost no

opportunity favourable for confirming the King in his attachment to the Romish religion. To the influence of these dexterous courtiers was added that of Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, who, in his capacity of confessor, had acquired a considerable power over Henry's mind. It was represented to the King, that his spirit in throwing off the Papal yoke was highly applauded, both by foreign princes and by his own subjects, but that neither of these parties would patiently bear to see him espouse the doctrines of obstinate heretics. He was flattered by allusions to the honour which he had obtained in his controversy with Luther; and it was insinuated, that should policy eventually induce him to become the champion of opinions, which his talents had formerly consigned to merited contempt, all Europe would fasten upon him the mortifying charge of inconsistency. Nor was it forgotten to remind him of the indignity with which Luther had dared to treat his performance[f]. Suggestions thus artfully contrived to work upon the pride and prejudices of men, seldom fail to exercise a powerful influence over their minds. Henry, accordingly, was far from insensible to the representations of his Romish advisers. He appeared, at times, as if he had little farther object in siding with the Reformers than merely to render himself independent of the Popedom. Up to this point the leading Romanists were well satisfied to make a sacrifice from their

[f] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 271.

former opinions. Perhaps they reasoned, that if the people could be prevented from embracing Protestant principles, an opportunity for restoring the Pope to the privileges which he had been used to enjoy, would not fail of occurring before the lapse of many years.

But however such a consummation might be desired by the Romish party, nothing was now less discovered in their public conduct than the least symptom of regard for the Papacy. On the contrary, they displayed a willingness to come forward, even unnecessarily, for the purpose of renouncing, in the most unqualified manner, those principles which they had been used to entertain, and to which they returned with such disreputable haste at the outset of Queen Mary's reign. The Parliament had separated without enjoining any new renunciations of the Papal supremacy; but the zeal of the prelacy was nevertheless not to be restrained. Lee, Archbishop of York, the Bishops, Gardiner of Winchester, Stokesley of London, Tunstall of Durham, together with all their brethren on the episcopal bench, voluntarily bound themselves by an oath to persevere in their present conduct towards the Popedom. This extraordinary document is conceived in the following terms. "I Stephen, Bishop of Winchester, *do purely of mine own voluntary accord, and absolutely, in the word of a bishop,* profess, and promise to your princely Majesty, in earth of the Church of England supreme head immediately under Christ, that, from this day forward, I shall

not swear, promise, give, or cause to be given to any foreign potentate, nor yet to the Bishop of Rome, whom they call Pope, any oath or fealty directly or indirectly; but I shall give my faith, truth, and obedience, only to your Majesty. I profess the Papacy of Rome not to be ordained of God by holy Scripture, but constantly do affirm, and *openly declare*, and *shall declare it, to be set up only by man.* Neither shall I enter into any treaty with any person or persons, either privily or apertly, or shall consent thereto, that the Bishop of Rome shall exercise here any authority or jurisdiction, *or is to be restored to any jurisdiction hereafter.* Furthermore, for the confirmation hereof, I give my faith and truth by firm promise, and in the faith of a Bishop, that, against this my foresaid profession and promise made, I shall defend myself by no dispensation, exception, nor by any remedy or cautel of law or example, during this my natural life. And if heretofore I have done or made any protestation in prejudice of this my profession and promise here made, the same I do revoke at this present and for ever hereafter, and here utterly do renounce by these presents[s]." For the honour of human nature, one would be glad to believe it impossible that any man of sense, integrity, and mature age, after making such a profession, could have acted as Gardiner and Tunstall did under Queen Mary. Nothing can shew more clearly the demoralizing and anti-christian

[s] The oath is printed by Foxe at full length. Acts and Mon. 964.

operation of Popery than such melancholy examples. Surely no serious and rational man would venture to fly in the face of such an engagement thus voluntarily taken, unless he had been deluded into a notion, that there exists a power upon earth competent to absolve men from every obligation, however sacred.

As the bishops generally, notwithstanding their readiness to renounce the Pope, were very little disposed to encourage the dissemination of Protestant principles, Cranmer determined to avail himself of his right to hold a visitation of his province. In order to disarm the opposition which the Romish party might be expected to make to this measure, the Archbishop thought it advisable to procure the King's licence before he began his proceedings. Being thus protected in the exercise of his jurisdiction, he gave orders for the issuing of the customary notices to the several bishops subjected to him. When Gardiner was thus officially apprized of his metropolitan's intention, he endeavoured to prevent the diocese of Winchester from being visited by a prelate whose opinions were so much in advance of his own. His mode of parrying the threatened interference, was sufficiently ingenious. In the instrument served upon his suffragans, the Archbishop was, as usual, styled Primate of all England. Of this designation, Gardiner complained to the King. He represented it as a disparagement of the supremacy, vested by the Legislature in the crown. Lest, however, this piece of court flattery should

prove ineffectual, he added to it, that a metropolitical visitation at that time was unnecessary, because one had been holden by the late archbishop only five years before, and that it would entail a burthen upon the clergy which they could ill support so soon after they had been called upon for the payment of their tenths. In answer to these objections, Cranmer represented, that as primates were recognised under the Pope, so they might be under the King; but that, for his part, he valued titles no more than the paring of an apple, being desirous that all the bishops should be considered only as apostles of Jesus Christ, and that the credentials of their office should not be seals and parchments, but the godly conversation of the people living in their dioceses. As for Warham's alleged visitation, the Archbishop said, it was nothing more than what had been customary during the vacancy of a see; and with respect to the burdens of the clergy, he observed, that the complainant himself had shewn his disregard for such considerations, by visiting when his incumbents were taxed with the payment of a very heavy impost granted to the crown [b].

Cranmer experienced similar treatment from another prelate, who was stedfastly attached to Romanism. When Stokesley, Bishop of London, was served with a notice of the intended visitation, he also endeavoured to prevent the design

[b] Letter from Cranmer to Cromwell. Strype, Mem. Cranm. Appendix, 701.

from being effected, by an appearance of anxiety for the preservation of the King's prerogatives. The Archbishop's officers, with that blind attention to precedents, which generally characterises such persons, had styled him, absurdly enough certainly, Legate of the Apostolical See: a title which had long been borne by his predecessors[1]. In this character the Bishop of London declared, that he could not submit to his visitation, inasmuch as the Papal authority was no longer recognised in England, and an attempt to act under it was clearly illegal. The Archbishop was not, however, deterred from carrying his intention into effect by this obstruction. He held his visitation, as he had determined, at the chapter-house of St. Paul's in London; and the bishop, with his archdeacon, and with the superiors of the con-

[1] The Archbishops of Canterbury were styled "Legati Nati." This appears to have been little more than an empty title; since other prelates had commonly exercised legatine functions in England. Wolsey had done so recently, as the clergy knew to their cost. Polydore Vergil, speaking of Archbishop Theobald, who succeeded to the primacy in the year 1138, uses these words: "Legatus ab Innocentio II. Romano Pontifice factus est. Manavit id munus postea ad omnes Cantuarienses Archiepiscopos, qui *Legati Nati* dicti sunt." (Anglic. Hist.) Godwin, (De Præsul.) and Fuller, (Church Hist.) have adopted this statement. Collier questions its correctness, but gives no reasons. The annotator upon Godwin thus expresses himself upon this subject: "Twisdanus, autem ex Decatensi, p. 679, asserit ejusmodi Legationem Huberto primo datum fuisse." Hubert became Archbishop of Canterbury in the year 1193. From his time, therefore, at all events, until that of Cranmer, the Archbishops had been regularly styled Apostolical Legates.

vents under his jurisdiction, were cited to appear before their metropolitan. They did not venture to disobey, but they repeated their protest against receiving him as legate, and demanded of his registrar to enter this protest among the archiepiscopal records. The demand was refused; and, in consequence, an appeal was presented to the King, in which the subscribers petitioned for the royal licence, both as a protection from the Archbishop's visitation, and from the suspension of their authority, which, according to custom, had been laid upon them during the continuance of their superior's inspection [k]. These transactions plainly discover the reluctance with which the Romanists admitted the interference of Cranmer, and the cautious manner in which they thought it advisable to proceed, in order to prevent the King's violent passions from hurrying him into farther innovations upon the established religion.

Indeed the influence of the Popish party was now at a very low ebb, and no man in a conspicuous station could satisfy his Sovereign, unless he was prepared to exert himself in weaning the popular mind from its habits of deference towards the Roman see. Not contented with the oaths which the prelates had come forward with such alacrity to take, Henry enjoined them to repair to their several dioceses for the purpose of preaching there against the Papal supremacy, and

[k] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 47.

of directing their clergy to employ themselves in the same manner. The members of the episcopal bench made no hesitation in engaging to comply with the royal injunction. Lest, however, any should attempt to evade the performance of what they had undertaken, it was ordered, that copies of their respective sermons against the Pope should be sent up to court[l]. The manner in which the King's commands were fulfilled, appears to have occasioned no dissatisfaction, nor even suspicion, in any diocese, except in that of York. In that part of England, it seems, that preachers evinced no sort of alacrity in exposing the true character of the Popedom. This backwardness was attributed to Edward Lee, the Archbishop; and, accordingly, the King wrote to that prelate an expostulatory letter. About the same time, Cranmer, by his Majesty's command, transmitted to him a book of instructions for the clergy, which had recently been prepared[m], and which explained the grounds of dissatisfaction subsisting between England and Rome. Archbishop Lee had no sooner received these admonitions from the South, than his zeal against the Papacy was conspicuously displayed. He was then at Cawood, and he immediately made up his mind to preach at York on the following Sunday. He sent notice of his intention to the mayor of that city; he issued orders, that service should be con-

[l] Strype, Eccl. Mem. I. 295.

[m] Strype observes of this book, "We may well suppose the Archbishop had a great hand in it." Mem. Cranm. 35.

cluded in all the churches in such time as to allow the whole body of the citizens to be present at the delivery of his discourse; and he particularly desired that two of the King's chaplains, then upon the spot, should give him their attendance. All these preparations procured for the dignified preacher a very large auditory. The Gospel of the day contained, by a coincidence perhaps somewhat ludicrous, the following passage: "I have married a wife, and therefore I cannot come." This was the Archbishop's text, and from it occasion was taken to enlarge upon the King's marriage, the wrongs that he had endured from the Roman see, and the propriety of renouncing all connexion with that power. These topics, it was reported by the King's chaplains, were treated in a manner which appeared satisfactory to the audience; but it was observed, that the Archbishop had dexterously contrived to avoid all mention of the royal supremacy. For this omission he afterwards made a trifling excuse; and he endeavoured to account for the silence respecting the Pope, which prevailed among his clergy, by representing their deplorable poverty and ignorance. Many of their benefices, he said, produced no more than 4l. 5l. or 6l. per annum; pittances so scanty, that men qualified to preach, could not be prevailed upon to accept them. He affirmed, that there were not in his whole diocese, twelve secular priests so qualified, and very few friars. However, he undertook to supply the deficiency himself, so far as he should be able, by explaining

from the pulpit, on the Sundays and principal holidays, in different places, the points which it was desired that the people should understand [n].

But notwithstanding this seemingly universal acquiescence in the propriety of the King's measures, there was a body of men who evidently viewed them with great dissatisfaction, perhaps with alarm. The monastic orders found themselves placed in circumstances entirely new, probably insecure. With the secular clergy, a dependence upon the civil government had ever been pretty clearly established. Not so with the regulars. Many monasteries were exempted from episcopal visitation, and acknowledged no superior but the Pope. These societies had now been transferred to the superintendance of the crown. The change in their situation was revolting to their prejudices, and appeared not unlikely to injure their interests. Hence they naturally became dissatisfied and uneasy.

This spirit of discontent first openly vented itself at the Charter-house, a monastery situated in the outskirts of London. It had been found difficult to extort from the monks of this house, upon a former occasion, an approbation of the King's second marriage. But the temporary imprisonment of their prior, and still more the persuasions of an individual on whose judgment they placed a considerable reliance [o], at length induced

[n] Strype, Eccl. Mem. I. 291.

[o] "I suppose Lee, Archbishop of York." Strype, Eccl. Mem. I. 300.

them to withdraw their opposition. When, however, they found that nothing short of an absolute renunciation of the Pope would content the government, they began to meditate upon resistance. There is reason to believe, that they both read among themselves, and lent to others, the books which had been published against the King's proceedings in foreign parts: conduct which was the more inexcusable, because, when it was discovered, they refused to peruse the tracts published in England, in reply to the continental libels [p]. But, however this may be, it is certain that they had rendered confession, that pestilent device of Romanism, an engine of sedition [q]. They had worked themselves up into a belief, that an admission of the Papal supremacy was necessary to salvation; and this pernicious folly they had instilled into the minds of those who came to them as penitents. Not contented with thus se-

[p] "I find this said in some original letters." Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 545.

[q] Reinolds, one of these unfortunate monks, said on his trial, "That he never declared his opinion to any man living, but to those that came in confession; which he could not resist, in discharge of his conscience." (Strype, Eccl. Mem. I. 305.) Hume, therefore, is mistaken in saying, that the offence of these ecclesiastics was "attended with no overt act." It is certain, from Reinolds's own admission, that he had used the confessional as an engine of sedition. Most probably this fact was proved upon the trial, both with respect to him and to his fellow prisoners. If such were the case, it accounts for the conduct of the jury, who, though most anxious to save the culprits, could not conscientiously pronounce them innocent of the crimes laid to their charge.

cretly contravening the measures of the government, the infatuated Carthusians proceeded to wind up their fanaticism to a pitch, which could hardly fail of rendering it the object of public attention. John Haughton, the prior, addressed his brethren in a very pathetic strain, for the purpose of inducing them to suffer martyrdom, rather than renounce the Pope. His harangue produced all the effect which such language, addressed to such an auditory, might naturally be expected to work. The unhappy monks began, without delay, that course of penitence and devotion, which seemed proper to prepare them for death. On the following day, the prior preached from the first fifteen verses of the fifty-ninth Psalm. The brethren then severally confessed their sins, and asked pardon of each other, on their knees, for the offences of which they might severally have to complain. This day of penitence was succeeded by one in which was celebrated a mass of the Holy Ghost. Upon this occasion, it is said, that the excited devotees fancied themselves to be favoured with a sensible manifestation of the Spirit. During the elevation of the consecrated wafer, a small hissing wind was believed to have been heard, and a sweet calm was immediately spread over the minds of the worshippers. After they retired from mass, they employed themselves in earnest devotion both night and day [r].

Upon the purity of motive by which these mis-

[r] Strype, Eccl. Mem. I. 302.

guided enthusiasts were actuated, no doubt need be cast. Nor are rulers ever placed under more painful circumstances than when, from a due regard to the public peace, and to their own security, they are obliged to visit honest, but dangerous men, with the penalties of the law. In the case of these Carthusians, the government evidently had no option. Not only was a convent adjoining the metropolis, a house of which the inmates were justly respected by the people around them, organizing a spirit of resistance to the Legislature; but also there was no reason to doubt, that if this opposition were not speedily crushed, it would rapidly spread itself through the country. Already two other priors had taken up their quarters, and made a common cause with the London Carthusians. As these men could not be allowed to form confederacies at their leisure for the purpose of setting the law at defiance, they were committed to prison, and shortly after brought to trial in Westminster Hall. The three priors, a monk of Sion, and two others, one of whom was a secular priest, were there charged with high treason, on the 15th of April. They pleaded not guilty[a]. After the trial was concluded, the jury found great difficulty in agreeing upon their verdict. They do not appear, indeed, to have entertained any doubt respecting the guilt of the prisoners, but they felt a strong repugnance against assigning to such holy men, as they

[a] Foxe, 976.

termed them, the character of malefactors. When Cromwell learnt that the deliberations of the jury turned upon this point, he forced them, by menaces, into the due discharge of their painful duty [t]. Accordingly, the prisoners were convicted, and received judgment to die as traitors. This sentence was executed at Tyburn, on the 4th of May, on the three priors, the monk, and the secular priest, much to the regret of the King, who took care that argument and persuasion should not be left untried, in order to lead them from their pernicious errors [u]. This example of severity did not, however, break the spirit of the Carthusians. In June, three more monks of that order, after being tried and convicted, at Westminster, were executed at Tyburn. At York also, two Carthusians met with the same fate, and upon the same ground. Nor was this all the evil which the members of this unhappy fraternity brought upon themselves at this time by their mischievous fanaticism: nine or ten of those belonging to the house near London, were put into such close confinement, that it proved fatal to all but one of the number; and he was executed in August [x]. About the same time the penalties of heresy were awarded against a groupe of unfortunate foreigners. On the 25th of May, nineteen Dutchmen, and six women, were charged, at St. Paul's in London, with holding the opinions entertained by the

[t] Strype, Eccl. Mem. I. 303.
[u] Ibid. 306.
[x] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 545.

Anabaptists[y]: a sect which had certainly rendered itself justly an object of apprehension to the friends of rational religion and of social order, by the excesses which its members had recently committed in Germany[z]. Some persons infected with these principles which had caused so much alarm, having taken refuge in England, were now treated with unjustifiable rigour. Fourteen of these alien sectaries were burnt in London, and other towns[a]. This succession of horrid punishments appears to have filled the King's mind with grief and uneasiness. He became careless of his person, and seemed to feel severely the hardship of being the instrument through which men generally, perhaps universally, of unblemished morals were consigned to such frightful sufferings[b].

The severities exercised upon the misguided Carthusians were followed by the tragical end of a prelate, for whom the King had once entertained a high degree of respect, and whose fate he was very unwilling to precipitate[c]. John Fisher had been imprisoned in the Tower during more than twelve months, where, having been stripped of his pecuniary resources, he suffered at one time such privations as fix upon the government

[y] Collier, II. 99.

[z] Under Munzer, in 1525; and again under Bockhold, in 1533. Mosheim.

[a] Ibid.

[b] Herbert, 183.

[c] Ibid.

the charge of highly culpable neglect[d]. He was now in the seventy-seventh year of his age, and he would probably have been allowed to sink silently into the grave, had not his case been made the means of reminding Henry, that the Pope's hostility towards him was unabated, and might become formidable. Paul had rashly determined to inspirit the English malcontents by conferring upon Fisher the dignity of cardinal. When the venerable prisoner was informed of the empty distinction intended for him, he said, with that contempt for the world's vanities, which no wise man, even in prosperous circumstances, can avoid feeling when he has reached the verge of eternity, "If the red hat were lying at my feet, I would not stoop to pick it up[e]." But, however probable it must have appeared, that the Papal present would be thus received, it was the policy of Paul to bestow it. Fisher, accordingly, was created a cardinal with the highest encomiums, and the gaudy ensign of his dignity was, as if to mock the misery of him for whom it was destined, sent on towards England[f]. When the news of

[d] Fisher's letter to Cromwell, from the Tower. (Fuller, 190.) From the state of his wardrobe at the time of his execution, there can be no doubt that his wants were supplied after his application to the secretary, which was made on the 22d of December, in the last year.

[e] Fuller, 201.

[f] "It was said that the Pope, for that he held so manfully with him, and stood so stiffly in his cause, did elect him a cardinal, and sent the cardinal's hat as far as Calais; but the head it

this insidious insult reached Henry's government, it was thought advisable to subject Fisher to the rigour of the law[g]. On the 17th of June[h], he was arraigned before the Lord Chancellor, the judges, and certain peers, on a charge of having, during his confinement in the Tower, denied the King's supremacy[i]. He pleaded not guilty; but being convicted, he was sentenced to die as a traitor. His execution followed on the 22d of the same month, and he met his fate with all the cheerfulness to be expected from one weary of worldly troubles, and conscious of integrity. Much to his servant's surprise, he caused himself to be dressed on the last morning of his life, with a care that had been long unusual with him. "My Lord," said the man, "surely you forget that after the short space of some two hours, you must strip off these things, and never wear them more." "What of that," replied the prisoner; "dost thou not mark that this is my wedding

should have stand on, was as high as London Bridge, or ever the hat could come to Bishop Fisher." Halle.

[g] He was created Cardinal on the 21st of May. Wharton, Contin. Hist. Roff. Angl. Sacr. I.

[h] Ibid.

[i] He was arraigned as *late* Bishop of Rochester. Collier pronounces this designation to be rather mysterious. The historian, however, might have recollected, that the see of Rochester had been declared vacant by act of Parliament, on the second of the preceding January. This, therefore, is the third instance in which the Legislature had recently deprived bishops; a privilege which none but ecclesiastical authorities had ever exercised before.

day?" Thus gladdened by the prospect of a speedy termination to his sufferings, he was carried in a chair to the place of execution. In his hand he held a New Testament; upon which turning his eye, he prayed rather superstitiously, that in opening it at random, he might light upon a passage suited to his present circumstances. The success of his prayer was remarkable. The following text was the one which presented itself to his notice. "And this is life eternal, that they might know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent. I have glorified thee on earth; I have finished the work which thou gavest me to do[k]." When he had read these words, he shut the book with this observation: "Here is learning enough for me to my life's end." On his reaching the fatal spot, his infirmities appeared to forsake him, and he ascended the steps of the scaffold without any help. Before he laid his head upon the block, he declared, in a short address to the spectators, that he came to die for the faith of Christ's holy Catholic Church. Then, after a brief interval of devotion, he meekly submitted to the executioner, who severed his head from the body by a single blow of the axe. Thus, with a constancy worthy of a better fate and a better cause, did this aged prelate finish his earthly course. He was a native of Beverley in Yorkshire, where his father was an opulent trader[l]. His education was completed at Cambridge, an

[k] St. John xvii. 3, 4. [l] Fuller, 202.

university of which he was one time the chancellor. In early life his eminent qualities had procured for him the office of confessor to the Lady Margaret, Countess of Richmond, the King's grandmother. It was owing to his counsels, that this munificent patroness of learning founded Christ's and St. John's Colleges at Cambridge, together with a professorship of divinity, still distinguished by her name, in each of the universities [m]. Thus this Protestant nation is under no small obligations to a prelate, who was prevented in his old age, by the force of early prejudices, from hailing the dawn of that light, which his wise suggestions have largely contributed to spread over his native land. He had filled the see of Rochester during more than thirty years. Nor was his fair fame tarnished by any act of his life, except by the countenance that he afforded to the ravings and impostures of Elizabeth Barton. In this instance he certainly acted a weak, probably, at length, a disingenuous part. The disinterestedness of Bishop Fisher's character is shewn by his refusals of a translation. The King had evinced his high respect for him, by offering to his acceptance at one time the see of Ely; at another, that of Lincoln [n]. But Fisher was contented with the comparatively scanty revenues which had fallen to his lot. "Others," he said, "may have a larger income: as for me, I shall

[m] Wharton, Contin. Hist. Roff.

[n] "Treble the other in revenue." Fuller.

not change my little old wife, to whom I have been so long wedded, for a wealthier[o]." Indeed, upon the whole, Bishop Fisher is a martyr to their cause, of whom the Romanists have good reason to be proud; nor need Protestants hesitate to express their regret, that the rash and unfeeling policy of the papal court caused the life of such a man to be sacrificed to the principles of the Reformation.

The execution of his old friend and fellow-prisoner was thought likely to shake the constancy of Sir Thomas More, and therefore attempts were made to obtain from him a recognition of the supremacy now legally vested in the crown. But More was stedfast to his principles, at the same time that he was anxious not to commit himself by a needless avowal of them. He accordingly declined to answer the interrogatories which were addressed to him. His silence was not, however, allowed to protect him: by a monstrous act of injustice, it was pronounced malicious, and mentioned among the accusations brought against him[p]. Still, it was hardly to be supposed that such a presumption of guilt would of itself ensure his conviction; and therefore Rich, the solicitor-general, undertook the task of entrapping him into some evident breach of the recent statute. The crafty lawyer proceeded in his base employment with considerable art. He declared to the illustrious prisoner that his visit to him was made

[o] Fuller, 203.

[p] It was said in his indictment, *malitiose silebat.* Herbert, 183.

with no sinister intent, and thus such a turn was allowed to be given to the conversation as led to some discussion upon the King's supremacy. More bore his part in this with ingenuity and caution; but at length he was induced to express opinions of which the purport was, that the Parliament is not competent to prescribe matters of faith, and that an assent to the royal supremacy must be considered in that light. To the disgrace of the solicitor, of the government, and of the age, these sentiments thus elicited were made principal articles in the indictment shortly after preferred against the displaced chancellor. He was brought to trial on the 1st of July, and was found guilty, in spite of his very able defence, of imagining to deprive the King of his title and dignity[q]. On the 6th of the same month he was led to execution; when he manifested to the world that neither the firmness of his mind, nor the gaiety of his spirits, was in the least degree impaired by the rigours of imprisonment, or by the near approach of death. In his way to the scaffold, an unfeeling spectator upbraided him with a decree that he had made when chancellor. Sir Thomas answered him, "If I had it to do now, I would do the same again." When at the bottom of the steps, he said to one of the bystanders, "Friend, help me up; when I come down again, let me shift for myself." Before the fatal moment had arrived, the executioner, according to custom,

[q] "Which, by a statute *regni* 26. was made high treason." Herbert, 184.

knelt down before him, and entreated his forgiveness. He gaily replied, "Thou hast it with all my heart; but thou wilt get no credit by cutting off my head; my neck is so short." To the same person he also said, while he was in the act of preparing for the stroke of death, "Stay, till I have laid aside my beard; for that never committed treason[r]." Perhaps some of these pleasantries were scarcely suited to such a time[s], but their occurrence serves to shew the firmness of the man; and one cannot help regretting, that an individual so well qualified to adorn a public station, and to cheer the intercourse of private life, should have been sent prematurely to the grave, merely because prejudice had blinded him to the difference between religious and political duties. Such, however, was the unhappy delusion under which this great man laboured. Both he and Fisher had said, "That the act of supremacy was

[r] Herbert, 184.

[s] This opinion appears to have prevailed among his contemporaries. Halle says of him, "I cannot tell whether I should call him a foolish wise man, or a wise foolish man; for undoubtedly, beside his learning, he had a great wit; but it was so mingled with taunting and mocking, that it seemed to them that best knew him, that he thought nothing to be well spoken except he had ministered some mock in the communication." Fuller says of More, "Some have taxed him, that he wore a feather in his cap, and wagged it too often; meaning, he was over free in his fancies and conceits; insomuch that, on the scaffold, a place not to break jests, but to break off all jesting, he could not hold, but bestowed his scoffs upon the executioner and standers-by. Now, though innocency may smile at death, surely it is unfit to flout thereat." Church Hist. 205.

a two-edged sword. If a man answer one way, it will destroy his soul; if the other, it will destroy his body[t]." Thus these two illustrious victims appear to have carried their infatuation so far as to suppose that no one could be certain of salvation unless he would deny the right of independent states to regulate completely their own affairs. The government at that time could not consistently with its safety overlook the folly, perhaps the fault, which these illustrious sufferers committed, in expressing an opinion so pernicious. To visit their error or delinquency with death, has, however, impressed a stain of cruelty upon the Reformation. But the time was critical; and the benevolent feelings which superior refinement has happily engendered, were then but little known.

When the news of these executions arrived at Rome, the indignation of the papal court outstepped all the bounds of decency[u]. The hopes

[t] Herbert, 183. Sir Thomas More was about fifty-three years of age at the time of his death. "Son he was to Sir John More, one of the judges of the King's Bench, who lived to see his son preferred above himself. Bred a common lawyer, but withal a general scholar, as well in polite as solid learning: a terse poet, neat orator, pure Latinist, able Grecian. He was chosen Speaker in the House of Commons, made Chancellor, first of Lancaster Duchy, then of all England." Fuller, 205.

[u] "Father Paul represents that the Pope issued the bull in compliance with the suggestions of some cardinals, who argued, citing Fisher's case, that it would be dangerous to allow individuals of their order to be put to death with impunity. The historian says, that, in listening to this advice, the Pope broke off his "wise

which Paul had previously entertained of effecting an accommodation with the English monarch appeared to be immediately thrown aside. Nothing could now restrain the Pontiff from furnishing men of sense and candour with a sufficient reason for believing that the severities lately exercised in England were merely measures of precaution, extorted from a government at variance with the Papacy, by a knowledge of the total want of principle which that power might be reasonably expected to display. On the 30th of August a bull was issued to admonish the King of his alleged faults, in divorcing Catharine, in marrying Anne, in making laws against the Pope's authority, and in punishing those who refused to obey them. If these things were not speedily altered, Henry, with all those who abetted him, were cited to appear at Rome within ninety days; which, if they should neglect to do, they were all declared to be excommunicated, the King was to be dethroned, the allegiance of his subjects dissolved, his kingdom to be placed under an interdict, the issue of Anne declared illegitimate; all commerce with foreign states was forbidden, all treaties with them annulled; the clergy were ordered to depart out of the kingdom, the nobility were charged to take up arms against their sovereign [x]. It is no

patience, or rather dissimulation;" and he calls the fruit of this change of policy, "a terrible thundering bull, such as never was used by his predecessors, nor imitated by his successors." Hist. Counc. of Trent, 86.

[x] Herbert, 184. This famous bull has made so much noise in

wonder that well-informed and cautious members of the Roman Church were anxious to hide the

the world, that the Romish historians have not generally ventured to make no mention of it, according to the practice usual with writers of their sect when they meet with matters not fit for the eyes of those who are contented to judge of facts through the intervention of a confessor. The following is the manner in which two Romish authors have treated this delicate subject. Dodd describes the Papal bull, as "that famous decree so much complained against both by Protestants and by many Catholics:" he adds, "that Paul III. could deprive Henry VIII. of the civil right he had to his dominions upon account of any error in faith, or misbehaviour as to morals, is far from being generally allowed, much less is it any article of the Catholic belief." However, lest any of his readers should infer from this statement, that his Holiness had spent a long life to very little purpose, the historian proceeds to inform us: "Some canonists suppose such a power to be vested in the Popes, but they clog it with many restrictions. However, we may suppose that Pope Paul III. acted upon the principles of those divines, and might be induced to proceed against Henry VIII. by the examples of Gregory VII. Innocent IV. Boniface VIII. John XXII. *and some few others*, who followed, as my author says, their private opinions in that respect; who farther adds, that perhaps Paul III. might look upon England to be a feudatory kingdom to Rome, as it once was in the reign of King John, and part of Henry III.'s reign; and that the Peter-pence was still a kind of acknowledgment of that subjection." (Church Hist. of Engl.) From this curious account, Protestants may certainly be excused in inferring, that infallibility is no necessary appendage to the tiara. As, however, so much information upon this subject might amuse a Protestant, and embarrass a Romanist, the recently-published Romish History of England disposes of Paul's bull in a manner much more brief: it is described there as "this extraordinary instrument, in which care was taken to embody every prohibitory and vindictive clause, invented by the most aspiring of his (Paul's) predecessors." (Lingard.) Now, it appears from Dodd's ac-

Scriptures from the public eye, when they knew from history that the acknowledged head of their religion might be expected thus to hurl the firebrand of sedition among the subjects of a hostile sovereign. The infamous and frantic document by which Paul so completely unmasked the character of the papal see, was not, indeed, officially published immediately after it had been prepared. It was rather suspended over Henry's head, in the hope that he would be intimidated into submission by such a display of impotent malice and unchristian presumption. In order that this reputable artifice should take effect, the bull which his Holiness had fulminated was allowed to become the subject of general conversation, and the self-called vicar of Christ consummated his impious folly by throwing out hints of his intention to bestow the English crown upon some German prince who had neglected to embrace the Reformation[y]. Obviously contemptible as were such pretensions, hateful as was the character of a power professedly religious, yet capable of avowing them; it should never be forgotten that they have a tendency to

count, that the instrument was one which might always be expected from a vindictive Pope, and it should be added, that if the Reformers needed any arguments to convince them that the Papacy is not of divine origin, such arguments must have flowed with irresistible force from the notorious and repeated acts of gross misconduct which are recorded of the Pontiffs.

[y] "Being unwilling, it seems, to greaten France or Spain therewith, lest afterwards himself should not be so able to sway the balance." Herbert, 184.

plunge kingdoms into bloodshed and confusion. Under papal authority, Philip of France had prepared to invade England, for the purpose of transferring the crown of that country from the feeble tyrant John to himself[z]. Nor can it be doubted that any ambitious and half-principled sovereign, in the sixteenth century, would have felt little hesitation, if his means had allowed him, in attacking a defenceless neighbour proscribed by the Pope. Nor would an ignorant and fanatical populace, when ripe for rebellion, find any difficulty in satisfying their consciences, that a violation of any oaths and engagements would be lawful, if it were sanctioned by what they had been taught and accustomed to consider as the fountain of religious knowledge and of spiritual authority. These considerations did not escape the notice of the English court. Accordingly, some precautions were taken in order to render inexcusable designing individuals who might attempt, under colour of the Pope's permission, to disturb the peace of society. An apology for the King's proceedings was prepared, in answer to Paul's memorable bull[a]. Bishop Gardiner was said to be the author of this vindication[b]. Statements of the points at issue between England and Rome were transmitted to the principal continental powers;

[z] Rapin, I. 271.

[a] "This apologist justified the King's conduct, both as to Fisher and other matters; and returned some of the Pope's rough language upon him." Collier, II. 98.

[b] Ibid.

and it was determined to cement an alliance with the German Protestants, for the purpose of giving to the Emperor such employment at home as would render him unable to execute any designs upon the independence of England[c]. Thus did the infatuation of the papal court continually urge the King into a line of policy favourable to the Reformation. Nor did any thing tend more effectually to emancipate the English people from the thraldom of Papal Rome, than the very measures which cardinals and pontiffs, in the plenitude of their folly and presumption, had thought the best adapted to prolong their hateful reign over the consciences of mankind.

Few expedients could be devised more likely to render papal intrigues nugatory, and Romish menaces contemptible, than the adoption of such measures at home as would ensure to the people a supply of sound religious knowledge. To this important object the attention of the government being directed during the whole of the present year, it was determined to fill the vacancies upon the episcopal bench by the preferment of some divines, unknown indeed as lawyers and politicians, but rendered conspicuous by enlarged theological views, and by unquestionable moral worth. The sees of Salisbury and Worcester had remained vacant, since an act of Parliament passed in the last year had deprived their Italian incumbents of these appointments. The former of these

[c] Herbert, 184.

sees was now conferred upon Nicholas Shaxton, master of Gonville Hall in Cambridge [d], a divine at that time so zealous for the Reformation, that he soon after declared himself more hearty in that cause than any prelate, except Cranmer and Latimer [e].

It was the last-named honest and eloquent champion of scriptural truth who was preferred to the see of Worcester. Hugh Latimer was born at Thurcaston in Leicestershire, where his father was a respectable yeoman. In his childhood he discovered talents which his parent was loth to waste, by dooming him to a life of agricultural labour. Accordingly, after such a course of education as his neighbourhood afforded, the young Latimer was sent to Cambridge at the age of fourteen. He there applied himself to the learning of the schools, according to the usage of the times; and, being religious not less than studious, he became a zealous member of the established Church. Indeed, so strong were his prejudices in its favour, that when the Reformers first engaged the public notice, he was indignant at their boldness. There was, however, one at Cambridge who discerned in Latimer a spirit different from that of ordinary bigots. The excellent Bilney marked the honest fervour of the man, and conceived the hope of bringing him over to his own opinions. The hope was realized; and Latimer, by Bilney's persuasions, henceforth employed his

[d] Godwin, de Præsul. 353.

[e] Strype, Eccl. Mem. I. 333.

talents for popular eloquence, and the influence of his unimpeachable integrity, in reviving the religion of the sacred record among his countrymen. This change in the direction of his zeal gave offence to all such as were wedded to their old opinions; and Bishop West, of Ely, inhibited him from preaching in any church subject to his authority. However, Dr. Barnes, prior of the Austin Friars, allowed to Latimer the use of their conventual church, and thus his impressive discourses from the pulpit were still allowed to benefit the people of Cambridge. Finding themselves in this manner foiled, his enemies harassed him by a prosecution for heresy, from which he appears to have escaped without any great difficulty. He was subsequently preferred to a benefice in Wiltshire, where he became highly popular. But as his doctrines were very far from agreeable to the neighbouring clergy, he was again brought into trouble as a heretic; being cited to appear in London, before Archbishop Warham and Bishop Stokesley. After several examinations before these, and other prelates, his courage failed him[f], and he appears to have recanted some of the sentiments that he had expressed against the variations from Scripture in-

[f] "Himself confessed, preaching at Stamford, he was loth to abide a cruel sentence of death for such matters as these were." The articles which it is believed he signed, for it is not certain that he did, admit the existence of purgatory, the importance of masses satisfactory, the mediation of saints, and the propriety of several Romish superstitions. They are printed by Foxe, 1577.

culcated by Romanists. After this, he was allowed to live in privacy until Queen Anne appointed him one of her chaplains, an honour which led, through her Majesty's influence[g], and that of Cromwell[h], to the bishopric of Worcester[i].

It will be readily supposed that the Primate felt no small satisfaction in consecrating such prelates as Shaxton and Latimer. In the course of this year, however, a similar gratification was afforded to him in other instances. William Barlow, prior of Bisham, was consecrated Bishop of St. Asaph, a see which he soon after exchanged for that of St. David's[k]. Edward Fox, almoner to the King, and provost of King's College in Cambridge, was advanced to the bishopric of Hereford[l]; and John Hilsey, superior of the Black Friars in London, to that of Rochester[m]. Of these prelates, Bishop Fox had been engaged in some diplomatic employments: he was, how-

[g] Wharton, Angl. Sacr. I. 539.

[h] Godwin, de Præsul. 469.

[i] He was installed on the 20th of August. The date of his consecration does not appear. Strype (Mem. Cranm. 53.) conjectures that he was consecrated by the Archbishop on the 11th of April, together with Shaxton, who is known to have been set apart for the episcopal office on that day.

[k] Godwin, de Præsul. 642. The annotator upon Godwin says, that the date of Bishop Barlow's consecration does not appear.

[l] He was consecrated by Cranmer and two other bishops in the cathedral of Winchester, on the 26th of September. Godwin, de Præsul. 494. Note.

[m] He was also consecrated at Winchester, but it was, according to the annotator upon Godwin, on the 18th of September.

ever, a friend to the Reformation. The other two appear to have possessed no claims to notice, except their enlightened views of religion, and their general respectability. Indeed, in Hilsey the Primate found an assistant of considerable value[n]: nor could he contemplate without sincere gratification the altered aspect of the episcopal bench. In a single year it received an accession of five members, disposed to draw religious knowledge only from the source upon which men can rationally depend, and anxious to render those committed to their charge partakers of their own conviction upon this important subject. On the same side was ranged Goodrich, Bishop of Ely, and thus a powerful party was formed among the prelacy favourable to the dissemination of scriptural Christianity. It is indeed true, that the prelates who were unwilling or unable to shake off the prejudices of their youth formed a party still more numerous; but their efforts were paralysed, both by the assent which they had publicly given to principles irreconcileable with their tenets, and by the King's patronage of the safe and rational grounds of belief inculcated by their opponents.

In this year a judicious attempt was made to enlighten the public mind by means of the press. An English primer was published with a patent of privilege[o]. The work inculcated doctrines which could hardly fail of making a considerable impression upon most readers of worth and intel-

[n] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 53. Note.

[o] Collier, II. 113. It was printed by John Biddyl, June 16.

ligence. By this publication the people were taught, in forcible language, the absurdity and the danger of addressing prayers to saints, and even to the Blessed Virgin. Besides this information, so necessary to a population educated amidst Romish prejudices, the primer comprises the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, several devotional pieces, and many very useful expositions. Among other matters is a Litany, which contains the following remarkable clause: "Meekly we pray thee, Lord, to open the verity of our true Catholic faith, and destroy all antichrists, with all their jugglings, and crafty schisms, which do so sorely oppress and danger thy people to damnation. Cease this schism, Lord: and that thy most holy words of thy Gospels may plenteously be preached without craft or dissimulation." If these words apply to the Papacy, which appears hardly to be doubted, they plainly charge that power with introducing a schism into the Catholic Church; an imputation, indeed, which, however offensive it may be to the Romanists, they will seek in vain to remove satisfactorily from their sect. For since Christians are warned in Scripture against all articles of faith which the Apostles did not preach [p], and since no man can be certain that they preached any thing which they have not recorded, the Romish Church,

[p] "But though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other Gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed." Gal. i. 8.

by adopting doctrines merely traditional, has repelled from her communion every well-informed man who will not consent to proceed upon uncertain grounds in his most important affairs. But although the primer contains this oblique attack upon the Church of Rome, as might be expected in the first work of the kind, it is not without traces of the religious system which had prevailed in Europe during the five centuries preceding its publication. The omission of the second commandment, that tacit confession of idolatry wrung from Romanists both past and present, is to be observed in this publication; and the Virgin Mary, of whom Scripture says so little, Papists so much, is pronounced to have been void of all evil, full of all goodness, and to have been delivered without any of the customary pains of childbirth. Upon another subject, however, the author of this little work shews himself superior to the weakness of making a shew of wisdom above what is written. He says, that "there is nothing in the *Dirige* taken out of Scripture that makes any more mention of the soul departed, than doth the tale of Robin Hood."

In this year was created an office, new to the English constitution, and one which was allowed to cease with the emergency which gave it birth. To Cromwell were delegated the powers inherent in the crown, as the fountain of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. In the instrument appointing him to the exercise of this authority, he is styled Vice-

gerent, Vicar General, Special and Principal Commissary [q]. By virtue of this new office he became supreme ordinary to the English Church, and was empowered to exercise all those rights and privileges which had been during a long lapse of years conceded to the Pope. The most obvious result of this appointment was, that all the monastic societies now found in him a superior. Such of those bodies as were exempted from diocesan authority, had been placed by means of recent statutes in a situation of some uncertainty. Reference to Rome was now rendered illegal, and the mode in which the crown might be expected to exercise its rights over religious corporations was as yet unknown. Cromwell's appointment, however, removed all doubt upon this subject; and the monks now saw, probably with no great satisfaction, that a domestic tribunal was established competent to take cognizance of their actions and affairs.

Previously to the Christian æra was established among the Jews an ascetic sect, known as the Essenes, who were an inoffensive, though perhaps an enthusiastic society, preserving the most rigid temperance and chastity, and living according to certain prescribed rules [r]. The self-denying, contemplative habits of these religionists were adopted in the third century [s] by some Christians who were driven by the rage of heathen persecu-

[q] Collier. Records, II. 21.

[r] Prideaux. Connexion, II. 268.

[s] About the year 250. Ibid. 283.

tion, and by the dictates of a gloomy fanaticism, into the arid deserts of Egypt, to seek for personal security as well for the leisure to indulge in religious reveries. Their example proved infectious, and from their time arose a constant succession of devotees, eager to exchange the comforts of social intercourse for the lonely hermitage. In the following century were formed communities of these moody recluses, and rules were devised for their government[t]. From the East this system found its way into Europe towards the end of the fourth century[u]. These primitive monks, however, were restrained by the ecclesiastical authorities from making their enthusiasm a pretence to assume the sacerdotal character[x]. They were in fact merely laymen, who fancied that a life of seclusion and privation would render them more especially acceptable to the Deity. To these stragglers from the bosom of society, Benedict of Nursia, in the diocese of Spoleto, first gave importance among the western nations in the early part of the sixth century[y]. His learning and

[t] "Saint Antoine passe avec raison, pour le premier instituteur de la vie monastique: car quoiqu'il n'ait pas été le premier qui se soit retiré dans la solitude pour y vivre separé du commerce des hommes, il est le premier qui ait assemblé plusieurs personnes qui se soient unies dans ce genre de vie." Du Pin. II. 306.

[u] Ibid. 307.

[x] "By the fourth canon of the council of Chalcedon, it is provided that monks should not intermeddle with matters of the Church." Foxe, 138.

[y] He was born about the year 480, and died about the year 543. (Du Pin. II. 471.) It appears that this comparatively

piety being recommended to the veneration of a semi-barbarous age by unremitting austerities, gave him so much influence among the monks, that they willingly received a code of regulations at his hands. From his time their influence rapidly increased. They were now bound by vows[s], they were allowed to exercise the priestly functions[t], they were unceasingly making accessions

recent origin of Romish monachism is a truth which some of the monks found rather unpalatable, even so early as the fifteenth century. Rudborne, a monk of Winchester, who wrote, according to Wharton, about the year 1440, thus mentions this subject. "Monachi erant multo tempore ante beatum Benedictum; quia in primitiva Ecclesia. Quod quidam moderni negant, affirmantes quod qui dicebantur monachi ante Sanctum Benedictum erant sacerdotes et clerici sæculares, et similiter laici." The monkish historian meets this assertion, so little to the taste of those who profess to have derived all their usages from the most remote antiquity, by a quotation from an author who contrived to find the mention of monks in the Acts of the Apostles. This ingenious commentator upon Scripture informs us that the primitive Church consisted of the Apostles themselves, of clergymen whom they ordained, of those who had all things in common, and of faithful laymen. Those who had all things in common, he says, were monks, living under the Apostles, as individuals so called of more recent date live under abbots. Angl. Sacr. I. 220.

[s] The primitive monks, "albeit the most part of them lived sole and single from wives, yet some of them were married: certes none of them were forbidden or restrained from marriage." Foxe, 138.

[t] Foxe says that Boniface IV., who was Bishop of Rome in the early part of the seventh century, first allowed monks to assume the ecclesiastical character: but they were not compelled to do this until "the time of Clement V. *an.* 1311, who obliged all monks to take holy orders, that they might say private mass for the honour of God, as he esteemed it." Bingham, I. 248.

of wealth and immunities, the populace admired them from an opinion commonly prevalent of their superior holiness, and it thus became obvious that the Benedictine confederacy was capable of rendering important services to any power strictly in alliance with it. Aware of this, those excellent politicians who filled the papal chair, took monkery under their especial protection; and in return the disciples of Benedict exerted themselves unremittingly to persuade mankind that St. Peter was the first bishop of Rome, that he was invested with such powers as had never been committed to any other son of Adam, and that these extraordinary privileges were all now centred in the Pope.

Upon England this refined stroke of policy of the Roman Bishops did not begin powerfully to operate until the vigour of the Anglo-Saxon rule had sensibly declined. It is, indeed, true that monachism was established in the British isles from some remote and unascertained period. Even if no ascetics from the East were incited to visit our shores, the pilgrimages to Jerusalem, which Britons in common with other Christians undertook [b], could not fail to introduce into the island a knowledge of oriental monkery, and it is a system which many gloomy spirits in any community would willingly embrace. It was an importation however, perhaps, little to be regretted in a rude and barbarous age; for monks gave oc-

[b] Usser. Brit. Eccl. Ant. 110.

casion to the formation of establishments in which religion and literature found a safe asylum. This important service was accordingly rendered to the community by the ancient British monasteries; and as they were not the retreats of combinations identified in interests with a foreign power, it is probable that the encouragement which they gave to a morbid enthusiasm was more than counterbalanced by the light which they threw around them. After the conversion of the Pagan Saxons, that people imitated the earlier Christians of the island in the foundation of monasteries. Kings built and endowed, in situations tolerably secure from hostile violence, a spacious church with attached residences for clergymen, and accommodation for such ascetic laymen as chose to lead a life of religious contemplation. In the midst of his clergy, in these retreats so admirably fitted for the existing state of society, commonly lived the bishop[c], and the clerical members of the community proceeded from their peaceful abodes to officiate among the rural population, or remained at home engaged in study, and in the education of youth. Societies, however, like these, of which the monkish members chiefly followed the rule of the Egyptian Pachomius[d], and of which the other

[c] "A temporibus antiquis ibidem et Episcopus cum clero, et Abbas solebat manere cum monachis, qui tamen et ipsi ad curam Episcopi familiariter pertinerent." Bed. 350.

[d] This rule was formed about the year 328. (Du Pin, II. 307.) It appears from Ricemarch, (Angl. Sacr. II. 646.) that it was the rule of the ancient British monks, who, probably, received it di-

members were ordinary clergymen living with their families, and merely engaged in fulfilling such duties as Scripture prescribes to Christian ministers, though capable of being made highly useful in an age of incipient civilization, were nearly worthless as engines of papal politics.

The talents and ambition of a disappointed man, however, eventually allowed the monastic policy of Rome an ample opportunity of exerting its corrosive influence upon English society. The celebrated Dunstan first endeavoured to push his fortune at court, but in this object he completely failed. Not only did his rivals succeed in driving him from the royal presence: they even pursued him in his retreat from the scene of his ambitious hopes, and did not allow him to escape their hands until they had treated him with a considerable degree of personal violence. After this assault he found refuge in the house of a relation, Elphege Bishop of Winchester, who, being infected with the fanaticism then fast rising into notice, advised him to renounce ambition, and to join a society of continental Benedictines. But Dunstan hoped that he might still retrieve his fortunes, and moreover, a damsel whom he meant to make his wife reigned the mistress of his affections[*]. However,

rectly from the East. The early Anglo-Saxon monks, finding the rule of Pachomius already in the country, it is likely, for the most part, adopted it.

[*] "Maluit sponsare juvenculam cujus cotidie blanditiis foveretur." (Cotton MS. cited by Mr. Turner, Hist. of the Angl. Sax.) Osberne appears to give some intimation of this when he

a severe fit of sickness, which soon after seized him, gave to his spirits a shock so rude, that when he became a languid convalescent he announced his fixed determination to adopt the course which Elphege had recommended. This design was carried into execution without delay, and the newly-initiated Benedictine now found that his love of distinction must take a new direction. He bent the energies of his vigorous mind to naturalize Romish monkery among his countrymen. Extraordinary talents, unremitting austerities, and a proficiency in mechanics admirably fitted for the display of monkish miracles, insured the success of Dunstan in his pernicious object[f]. At his sug-

says of Dunstan, "Ut quid in vita quam maxime appetendum fuisset, virtus an voluptas, *uxor an virginitas*, magnopere deliberaret." (Angl. Sacr. II. 96.) This monkish biographer, however, says that Dunstan chiefly argued against the advice of Bishop Elphege, by contending that a man who lives in the world, and performs from a sense of duty those actions which confer dignity upon the monastic character, is more worthy of esteem than one who has renounced his natural liberty, and is placed under the necessity of acting according to a prescribed routine.

[f] "Nondum enim in Anglia communis ratio vitæ colebatur; non usus deserendi proprias voluntates hominibus affectabatur. Abbatis nomen vix quisquam audierat. Conventus monachorum non satis quisquam viderat. Sed cui forte id voluntatis erat, ut peregrinam vellet transigere vitam, is, modo solus, modo paucis ejusdem propositi comitatus, patrios fines egrediebatur, et qua opportunitas vivendi licentiam dabat, illic alienigena vitam agebat." (Osbern. de vit. S. Dunstan.) To this passage Wharton has appended the following note. "Eadem refert Wolstanus in vita Ethelwoldi, Gervasius in Chronico, Johannes Tinmuthensis in Historia Aurea MS. lib. 21. cap. 47, 56. Chronicon Win-

gestion, Edward the Elder founded the abbey of Glastonbury, the first institution of its kind that England ever saw, and Dunstan, who was placed over it, was the first Englishman governing a branch of the monastic confederacy then so active in the cause of papal Rome [g]. Another branch of the Benedictine society was soon after established at Abingdon [h]; but farther, Romish monkery did not extend itself, until political events opened an

toniense MS. a Spelmanno citatum (Concil. Angl. Tom. I. p. 434.) Capgravius in Legenda Nova, f. 144. aliique. Monasteria nempe Angliæ ante reformationem a Dunstano et Edgaro Rege institutam totidem erant conventus clericorum sæcularium; qui amplissimis possessionibus dotati, et certis sibi invicem regulis astricti, officia sacra in suis ecclesiis quotidie frequentarunt; omnibus interim aliorum clericorum privilegiis; atque ipsa ducendi uxores licentia gaudebant: sicut in ecclesiis collegiatis hodiernum apud nos fit." (Angl. Sacr. II. 91.) The following are Mr. Fosbrooke's words upon this subject. "The Anglo-Saxon monasteries at first consisted of mere assemblages of religious people, around the habitation of some person eminent for sanctity, who led an eremitical life, and presided as abbot. He often acted as a preceptor of youth, to obtain subsistence. Such was Malmsbury in its origin. Elphegus refounded the abbey of Bath nearly in the same manner. The first monastery of Abingdon, in the latter end of the seventh century, was one of this description." British Monachism, 40. Lond. 1817.

[g] Angl. Sacr. II. 101.

[h] "Ea tempestate non habebantur monachi in gente Anglorum, nisi tantum qui in Glastonia morabantur et Abbandonia." (Hist. Coenob. Abendon. Angl. Sacr. I. 165.) Wharton says in his notes upon this ancient piece of monastic history, that, according to the History of Glastonbury, Ethelwold was appointed abbot of Abingdon in the year 954, but that he appears from the charter granted to Croyland Abbey, to have obtained that dignity at least six years earlier.

ample field for the display of Dunstan's abilities.

King Edwin[i], on the day of his coronation, withdrew abruptly from the festive hall into the apartment of Elgiva his beauteous wife[k]. The carousing nobles were offended at their sovereign's absence, and Dunstan undertook to bring him back. When the abbot had made his way into the royal presence, Edwin refused compliance with the wishes of his courtiers; but the messenger would hear of no denial; and when persuasions failed, he forcibly dragged the youthful prince into the midst of his irritated guests. Edwin's indignation being roused by this insult, the officious abbot was driven into exile, and the two Benedictine monasteries which owed their origin to his suggestions, were suppressed. Dunstan's cause, however, was that of the nobles, whose messenger he had been, and who contrived to arm the populace in defence of the expatriated abbot[l]. His exile, therefore, quickly found a triumphant termination; and when he again appeared in England, his unfortunate sovereign was laid completely at his feet. The advantage gained by

[i] This king has been usually called Edwy, but Mr. Turner says incorrectly. He came to the throne in 955.

[k] This unfortunate lady is termed the King's mistress by the monkish writers, but Mr. Turner has shewn that she was his wife.

[l] "Respiciens ergo Christi clementia Anglorum populum tanto patrono destitutum, suscitavit corda virorum ab Humbre fluvio usque ad fluvium Tamisim adversus Regem Edwyum." Osbern. de vit. S. Dunstan. Angl. Sacr. II. 106.

monachism was vigorously improved. Edwin was not even allowed to retain his wife. Under pretence that she was related to her husband within the prohibited degrees, Odo, Archbishop of Canterbury, a Benedictine monk, and Dunstan's intimate friend, divorced Elgiva, disfigured her face by branding it with a red-hot iron, and sent her away into Ireland. There this fair victim of monkish tyranny recovered both her spirits and her beauty. She then ventured to return: but she had not proceeded beyond Gloucester, when some emissaries of the savage Odo seized her, and by mangling her legs disabled her from travelling farther[m]. Within a few days after this brutal outrage, Elgiva was removed by a violent death beyond the reach of her hypocritical oppressors. Her mournful fate, however, cried in vain for vengeance to her much injured husband. The faction which moved obedient at Dunstan's will had rendered him powerless, and even raised his brother Edgar to the sovereignty of all England between the Humber and the Thames. Nor was Edwin long allowed to retain the wreck of his former greatness. Assassination soon removed him[n] to make way for the complete establishment of Benedictine monachism.

[m] "Ab hominibus *servi Dei* comprehensa, *et ne meretricio more ulterius vaga discurreret*, subnervata, post dies aliquot mala morte præsenti vitæ sublata est." Osbern. de vit. Odon. Angl. Sacr. II. 84.

[n] The assassination of King Edwin is recorded in an ancient MS. chronicle in the Cotton library, cited by Mr. Turner. Os-

Edgar having thus waded through a brother's blood to the undivided sovereignty of England, became through life the obsequious tool of that fanatical and unfeeling, but artful faction, which had placed him on the throne. He was a cruel and licentious prince[o], who being left at liberty to gratify his own sensuality, freely permitted Dunstan to mature his plans for the national degradation. Clergymen bound by family ties to the society around them, and respecting no standard of belief but Scripture, no political superior but their sovereign, were forcibly ejected from the retreats provided in a former period for their occupation. Their homes were assigned to Benedictine monks, enthusiasts or hypocrites who had renounced the rational enjoyments of social life for needless austerities or stolen pleasures, and who were the devoted partizans of that Italian power then pushing its way towards universal empire through monkish instrumentality. The injustice, however, done by these intruders to the clerical families which they supplanted, was felt by many patriotic and intelligent Englishmen; nor, although superstition was on its side, did the Benedictine confederacy reign triumphant in the land, until the Conqueror identified his interest with that of the Papacy. Then

berne's words appear to intimate that some violence was offered to this unfortunate prince. "Edwyo inquam Rege regno pro suis criminibus eliminato, et misera morte damnato." Angl. Sacr. II. 84.

[o] See Collier, I. 185.

Lanfranc was allowed to imitate Dunstan in dispossessing clergymen of a home and a subsistence, in order to make way for intrusive monks[p]; and Normandy cordially co-operated with Rome in the task of enslaving the miserable Saxons. One conspicuous result, ultimately flowing from this alliance between the sword and the tiara, was the augmented prevalence of those ascetic notions which gave rise to convents. The foreign primate brought such notions from abroad, and being supported both by his personal character, and by royal patronage, he proved the means of rapidly extending them in his adopted country. Both victors and vanquished became smitten with the love of monachism, and the wealthy were eager to devote some part of their abundance to the foundation of a convent. Thus, as orders multiplied, each of them readily found an establishment in England. At length the whole country was studded with houses termed religious; abodes, in which the friend of scriptural Christianity beheld nurseries of superstition, and which the politician could not doubt would never cease to furnish extensive means for fighting the battles of papal Rome[q].

A conviction of this latter truth, and a knowledge of the disaffected spirit generally prevailing

[p] See Collier, I. 260.

[q] Dr. Lingard admits that monasteries were "the firmest supports of the ancient faith:" that is, of Popery, which though not, accurately speaking, the ancient faith of England, is always so termed by its friends, and sometimes so even by its enemies.

in monasteries, caused the government to meditate upon their suppression. When this measure came to be debated at the council-board, a member arose, and, addressing the King, thus pleaded the cause of these ancient institutions. "Sir, even if the question now before us were the propriety of allowing the establishment of monasteries in the realm, I freely confess to your Highness that the proposal would meet with my support. There are so many persons unfit for secular business, or anxious for a retreat from the busy world, that I should view a refusal to allow the erection of cloistered retirements for such peaceful spirits as a plain denial to them of those means by which they might best glorify God. That, indeed, monasteries may be multiplied beyond all reasonable bounds, that some of their regulations may be exceptionable, that the mere love of idleness may have furnished them with many of their inhabitants no reasonable man can deny. But, Sir, I humbly submit to your Highness, that these are evils which require a remedy; not objections to the monastic system which demand its total abolition. To apply, however, the desired remedy at this time is a matter of the utmost difficulty. From the Pope, no such boon is to be expected. He would thereby disoblige the monastic orders, who are in fact at present faithfully attached to his interest, though not maintained at his expense. Nor, if your Highness should be pleased to exercise your newly-claimed supremacy in any manner hostile to the conventual

societies, would such a stretch of the prerogative fail of giving offence both at home and abroad. It would be said, that a new jurisdiction had been vested in the crown for interested purposes. If, however, such a construction be deemed only worthy of contempt, the injustice of invading the monastic property surely cannot be overlooked. The founders of convents were as fully justified in thus devoting a part of their estates, as in bequeathing the remainder of them to their heirs. Upon every ground, therefore, Sir, it seems to me most desirable that these foundations should be left untouched. But perhaps it will be said, that the number of these houses, and the recent conduct of their inmates, will not safely allow them to continue in their actual state. If the question in debate should be thus determined, I must still entreat that no motion for a general suppression of monasteries may be hastily entertained. If some of them must be suppressed, I hope that their funds will be applied to other pious uses; and that the destruction will never be so complete as not to leave in every shire a sufficient number for the religious of either sex."

On the other side of the question a member of the council thus expressed himself. "Sir, although the reduction of abstract principles to practice is sometimes attended with considerable difficulty, yet no good government will relax in its endeavours to maintain the operation of such maxims as sound wisdom dictates. Now, it might seem, no principle is more evidently just, than that

no one order of men in the body politic should be allowed to engross more than its fair proportion of property and influence. But, Sir, what is the proportion of these things now in the hands of the clergy? By means of their tithes and lands, they hold one fourth or more of all the property in England. Nevertheless, I do not recommend that the undue preponderance of the spirituality be immediately removed by a hasty and indiscriminate suppression of monasteries. I admit the piety of their founders. I should be sorry if two or three such establishments were not allowed to remain in every shire. Of the others, I should be glad to see the revenues employed in the service of your Highness. Their wealth, indeed, I hope will never be touched, except when circumstances arise for which the ordinary resources of the crown are inadequate to provide. With this posture of affairs we are at present threatened. The Bishop of Rome, as your Highness commands him to be called, has given us to understand, that he means to combine the continental princes in a league against England. If he should execute this intention, our enemies will find in every convent a band of active and faithful auxiliaries. Measures for guarding against this danger, I think, ought to be taken without delay. Nor does any plan seem to me more likely to answer the ends proposed than to order a general visitation of monasteries. Among the advantages which would flow from such an enquiry, it is one of importance that the number of monks and

friars might be immediately reduced. The visitors would not fail to find many who had rashly bound themselves by vows, of which they had since heartily repented. Such persons might be released from their painful and unprofitable obligations, and allowed to follow some more active course of life. Supernumeraries being thus removed, the religious who shall continue in their profession may be compelled to observe its rules with becoming strictness, and to conduct themselves in such a manner as the interests of society require. If your Highness should use your supremacy in effecting these objects, there are few reasonable men who will not look on with approbation. As for the complete suppression of monasteries, I must again declare my opinion, that such a measure can be warranted only by necessity: nor, should a partial suppression be deemed advisable, would I recommend its extension beyond the limits at which it shall appear safe to stop[r]."

The plan suggested by the last speaker was that which it was determined to carry into execution. Arrangements were made without delay for a general visitation of the monasteries, an exercise of the royal supremacy to which no reasonable objection could be made. Indeed there were few sensible and moderate men who did not feel that the monastic societies then urgently demanded the attention of the government. Their

[r] Herbert, 185.

seditious practices were notorious, and complaints of relaxation in their discipline were generally heard. However, lest it should be unhesitatingly asserted that the proposed visitation was merely intended to cover an attack upon the conventual property, it was proposed to carry it through the whole ecclesiastical system. All spiritual persons, corporations, and affairs, were to be visited by the King in his character of supreme ordinary of the English Church[s]. The exercise of this royal prerogative was confided to Cromwell, the Vicar-general, who was empowered to delegate his authority to subordinate agents. As a preliminary measure, each of the Archbishops received an inhibition, restraining him from the visitation of his diocese or province; and he was ordered to transmit a similar inhibition to the several bishops placed under his jurisdiction[t]. Thus, all inferior powers being suspended, Cromwell proceeded at once upon the execution of his commission. For this purpose he named as his deputies, Richard Leighton, Thomas Leigh, William Petre, Doctors of Law, Dr. John London, Dean of Wallingford, and some others of less note. It was Leighton who had first suggested the visitation of monasteries. He had been in the service of Cardinal Wolsey at the same time with Cromwell and was known to the Vicar-general as a man of vigour and ability. Indeed he had exerted himself to set this visitation on foot. The dean of the arches

[s] Strype, Eccl. Mem. I. 321. [t] Collier, Records, II. 22.

had laboured to have it postponed for a year or two, in order that the people might be used to think of the King as supreme head of the Church before they saw him act in that capacity. But Leighton controverted all the arguments for delay, and represented that if he, with Dr. Leigh, were appointed to visit the northern counties, in which they possessed many connexions, they would not fail to execute the Vicar-general's orders in a complete and satisfactory manner[u].

In October, the several commissioners who had been appointed to act under Cromwell, proceeded to visit the conventual societies in those parts of the kingdom which had been assigned to them respectively. They were armed with ample, not to say dangerous powers, and were ordered to make the most minute enquiries into the condition and affairs of every monastery in their particular districts. They were to demand an account of the endowment attached to each house, and of the manner in which such revenues were applied; they were to enquire into the moral conduct of the monks, friars, or nuns; into the degree of strictness with which they observed the rules of their particular order; into their manner of electing a superior; into the peculiar regulations of every society; and into the number of its members[x]. In short, the visitors were instructed to institute a rigid scrutiny into all the particulars

[u] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 284.

[x] The articles of enquiry are eighty-six in number. Bishop Burnet has printed them in the Collection of Records, I. 191.

connected with the monastic system, and with the conduct of every individual attached to it. From an inquisition of a nature so minute and comprehensive, it is not possible that any numerous body of men could escape without the imputation of considerable delinquency. Especially, must such a result be expected to flow from a strict investigation into the conduct of persons absurdly interdicted from the enjoyments of human life; exempted from all care of the future; from the beneficial restraints which the conflict of interests and opinions exerts over the mind; and screened from general observation by the supposed sanctity of cloistered seclusion. At the first institution of monkery, those who embraced it were most probably honest enthusiasts; and such would be at all times a considerable proportion of those who had buried themselves in a convent. But when houses of this description became very numerous, and many of them very opulent, it is certain that the mere prospect of a subsistence, without the exertion to obtain it, would induce a great number of idlers to assume the monastic habit. Such persons being desirous only of the ease and plenty attached to their way of life, would be ever on the alert to elude its harsh and wearisome restraints. Individuals also of ardent tempers would sometimes be tempted to enter the cloister under the influence of feelings which would afterwards evaporate. These men would not fail, after the gust of passion had subsided, to endure impatiently the sameness and privations to which they had hastily

devoted their lives. A minute and unsparing inspection of numerous monasteries would therefore be certain to exhibit them, as a whole, in a light which would surprise and grieve their admirers. Such an exposure, however, is not so much to the disgrace of monkery, as of that legislation which gives force and efficacy to hasty and unprofitable vows. It is the part of a wise government to place no impediments in the way of the innocent and natural gratifications of those subjected to it, but to reserve its restrictive powers for such excesses and abuses in the enjoyment of natural privileges, as are injurious to the welfare of individuals, and to that of the community. It is the folly and the fault of governments which encourage monastic institutions, that they overlook this reasonable principle of legislation. They give to senseless reveries, hasty resolutions, and unreasonable restraints, the sanction and the force of law. In fact, they render diseases of the mind permanent in those who are afflicted with them, and enable delirious fanatics to deprive society of services by which it might be benefited. Had the mental poison been confined to those who generated it, the evils of its operation might never have been considerable, but it could not be communicated to those whose healthy temperament was unfitted for its reception, without producing a frightful mass of corruption.

Such, accordingly, was the picture of monastic life which the visitors soon laid before the public. In many cases the property of the convent was

found to be embezzled, mismanaged, or misapplied; the discipline of the order to be relaxed; the regulations of the society to be ill observed; and the whole government of the conventual body to be conducted neither with strictness nor prudence. It was evident, therefore, that those who placed a high value upon ascetic mortifications had been grossly deceived as to their extent among the religious. But what was much worse than the laxity, the imprudence, and even the rapacity of the monastic classes, and what tended most completely to ruin their credit with the nation, was the infamous immoralities discovered among them. Instead of presenting a picture of meekness and tranquillity, many monasteries were found in a state of agitation from the intrigues, malice, and jealousies of their inmates. Pretenders as all these recluses necessarily were to the most scrupulous chastity and purity, whole societies of them were found to be abandoned to lewdness, debauchery, gross incontinence, and even viler abominations[y]. Perhaps it may be thought that the visitors invented, or at all events exaggerated, some of these heinous charges: they are, however, substantiated by the names of the principal delinquents, which are still extant[z], and which, therefore, vouch for the veracity of those who exposed to the indignant gaze of men these scenes of foul depravity. In any age a severe in-

[y] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 296.

[z] See Fuller's History of Abbeys. Church Hist. 316.

spection of numerous monasteries must be expected to discover a disgusting mass of delinquency. But at a time when the habits of society were gross, and when individuals were little restrained from misconduct by that dread of public exposure which now operates so favourably upon depraved minds, an extensive system of monkery could not fail to teem with revolting profligacy [a].

As, however, men had not been used to entertain this opinion of the monastic system, the details furnished by the visitors occasioned general surprise and indignation [b]. The practices of the religious were invidiously contrasted with their professions, and all persons of candour were compelled to admit, that institutions which afforded a cover for such monstrous hypocrisy, were of very questionable utility at best. It must not, indeed, be understood that all the monasteries were involved in the same condemnation. On the contrary, some of these establishments were found to be conducted in a manner which reflected great honour upon their superiors. Their affairs were judiciously managed, their inmates were strictly virtuous; and the idleness so fatal to the morals and happiness of a cloistered recluse, was avoided

[a] Even Sanders is compelled to admit that crimes were discovered in the monasteries; but he wishes also to have it understood, that the report of the visitors was partly indebted for its pungency to their inventive powers. His words upon this subject are the following: "Criminibus religiosorum partim detectis, partim confictis."

[b] Herbert, 186.

by the encouragement of elegant and useful arts[c]. But there was an article of accusation brought against the monasteries, from which, probably, very few were entirely clear. Their paltry relics, and, more still, their "lying wonders," lowered the intellectual standard of the people by a base alloy of superstition. Convents would never have existed, had not men conceited these places to be the retreats of superior holiness, of mortals more than usually in favour with the Deity. To keep up this reputation with the world, monastic devotees being impelled alike by vanity and interest, such of them as were of slender judgment and unsteady principles felt no reluctance whatever in the employment of artifice for the support of a character which mankind had attached to their order. Hence pious frauds, as they have been most incorrectly termed, are the natural growth of convents. Even the wiser and more virtuous inmates of these houses have ordinarily shewn little or no hesitation in conniving at deceptions practised on the unwary under the name of religion. Those who chose a cloister merely for its ease and indulgences, may be naturally expected to impose upon the ignorant and credulous without measure or remorse. As therefore it might be expected, the visitation brought to light a great number of gross and scandalous impostures. This exposure covered the monastic societies with infamy. The tide of public opinion set in strongly against them. Men

[c] As "writing books, painting, carving, graving, and the like exercises." Herbert, 186.

were indignant when they saw through the tricks by which they had been duped. Cromwell declared, that the establishments against which complaints were now so loudly made, should not continue to disgrace the nation[d]; and among the intelligent classes was excited a disposition to argue, that monasteries ought to be totally suppressed.

The people had been prepared to take this view of the case by partial suppressions which had recently been effected. Even the late Pope had shewn that he did not consider monastic property as sacred and inalienable. He had authorised Cardinal Wolsey to dissolve forty religious houses[e], for the purpose of appropriating their revenues to the endowment of the two colleges which he was about to build[f]. After the lapse of seven years, Clement again gave his permission for the dissolution of some monasteries. From these, new bishoprics were to be founded. Probably, it was upon this authority that the King dissolved the priory of Christ Church, near Aldgate in London; a house which he bestowed upon Sir Thomas Audley, the lord chancellor[g]. This suppression was soon after followed by that of the seditious order of Franciscan Observants. Thus the nation had been accustomed to see convents

[d] Herbert, 186.

[e] In 1525. Fuller, 305.

[f] At Oxford and Ipswich. Notwithstanding the Pope's permission, the anonymous historian of the Reformation terms Wolsey's suppression "an ugly president." Hark. MS.

[g] In 1533. Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 295.

suppressed, and even zealous Papists were precluded by the conduct of their Pontiff from asserting the inviolability of monastic property. The religious, therefore, became thoroughly aware that, since the late exposure of their practices, their situation was rendered very precarious; and some societies began to meditate upon moderating the indignation of mankind, by a voluntary surrender of their revenues. The abbey of Langden appears to have been the first house which, stricken with the panic reasonably pervading the monastic orders, threw itself upon the mercy of the crown. The abbot of this establishment was surprised by Dr. Leighton in bed with a young woman, who had been introduced into his chamber in the disguise of a monk. Such an ignominious exposure would not admit of any palliation, and the disgraced superior might well conclude that a merciful consideration of his case could only be hoped for from a prompt submission to the ruling powers [h]. His example was soon after followed by a few other houses [i]. In these, it is not known that any particular irregularity had been discovered. But there were now many reasons why persons immured in monasteries were desirous of relinquishing the character which they had adopted. The religious had lost much of

[h] The abbot of Largden, with ten monks, surrendered their house to the crown on the 13th of November, stating as their reason the ruined finances of the establishment. Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 296.

[i] Ibid. 297.

their popularity, they could not restrain a feeling of anxiety as to their future prospects, they were compelled to observe in all its strictness the harsh and irksome routine to which they had devoted themselves, and they could not foresee the degree of interference in their concerns which the government might hereafter exercise. Already had the visitors taken upon themselves to dismiss many of those who had bound themselves by monastic vows. Whenever a house was surrendered, all its inmates who had not attained the age of twenty-four were at once released from their engagements, under the reasonable plea, that such persons were too young for a renunciation of active life. Nor was the liberty denied to any elder recluse, of departing from his cloister, and again mingling with the world. Many individuals gladly availed themselves of this permission. Some of these persons alleged, that they were impelled to assume the monkish habit at an early age solely to gratify their relations; others said, that they repented of their choice; others, that if they must hereafter strictly conform to their profession, as it was now required of them, their lives would become an intolerable burden to them[k]. Upon such grounds many persons stripped off the monastic livery, and once more claimed their share of social comforts. These unfrocked monks could hardly fail of confirming, in their own defence, the prejudices excited against con-

[k] Herbert, 186.

vents by recent exposures. Thus the visitation of monasteries rendered immediate and important services to the cause of Scriptural Christianity. It nearly annihilated at a blow, among persons of tolerable information, the influence of an extensive order of men who were insulated from the community to which they properly belonged, who were the devoted partizans of the Roman see, and who were indebted for their subsistence solely to the superstition of either past or present times.

In addition to the services which the visitors rendered to the nation by shaking the credit of monachism, they also used their powers for the important purpose of banishing the scholastic theology from the two Universities. Under Cromwell's authority, Dr. Leigh repaired to Cambridge, and delivered to the learned body so long seated there a code of injunctions for its future governance. By this instrument, all the academics were charged to obey strictly the statutes, both of the University, and of their respective colleges, provided that, such regulations were not repugnant to the laws of the realm; lectures in Greek and Hebrew were to be founded; a mass was to be celebrated at St. Mary's for the prosperity of the King and Queen; and information was to be given in the proper quarter, if any member of the University should disobey the visitor's orders. These injunctions were introduced to the academic body by a preamble, in which the King was made to lament the uncultivated state into which

the University had lately sunk; to exhort its members to restore the Christian religion to its original purity; to command a complete renunciation of the Pope, and an unqualified admission of the royal supremacy; to recommend the study of languages as the key of all useful knowledge; and what was more important than all the rest, to desire that the Scriptures and modern authors of merit should be read instead of the schoolmen. Among the writers thus recommended from the highest quarter to the University, was Melancthon; and therefore it cannot be doubted that the adviser of this royal message was imbued with genuine Protestant principles. Nor could any plan be devised more likely to diffuse such principles throughout the nation, than the care thus taken to furnish it with instructors who had drawn their information from the purest sources. Lest this judicious design to increase the efficiency of an University education should fail from the prejudices of those who were directed to carry it into execution, care was taken to remind the principal men in Cambridge that they were wholly at the mercy of the crown. Orders were issued that an inventory of all the effects belonging to the University, the rent-roll of all its estates, together with all its muniments of every kind, should be delivered to Cromwell or his deputy. Another particular in which the visitor interfered with the academic discipline, happily appears not a little remarkable at the present period. All persons

were to have the liberty of reading the Bible in their studies [l].

Oxford was visited in a similar manner by Dr. Leighton. In the principal colleges there, lectures in the learned languages were established, if none such existed before; and all students were compelled under penalties to avail themselves of these means of instruction. The chief object of the visitor's attention, however, appears to have been the banishing of school-learning from the University, and his powers were such, that he could find but little difficulty in reducing the academics to obedience. Accordingly, the mode of instruction was immediately changed; books written by school divines were destroyed in the most unsparing manner; the visitor had the satisfaction to see the quadrangle of New College literally strewed with leaves torn out of Duns Scotus; and no use was so ignominious, that the pages of this author and of his fellows, lately so highly valued, were not applied to it without the least remorse [m].

The royal visitation having extended to the monasteries and to the Universities, was not carried any farther. The secular clergy were exempted from it. The suspension of their jurisdiction, which had been laid upon the prelates, was removed, and they were thus relieved from the apprehension of any interference in the ma-

[l] Collier, II. 109.

[m] Strype, Eccl. Mem. I. 323. From a letter to Cromwell from Dr. Leighton, dated September 12.

nagement of their respective dioceses. It was stated in the instrument by which the prelates were authorised to resume their functions, that the pressure of business would not allow the Vicar-General to extend his inspection of the Church any farther at that time[n]. Perhaps, however, the government was satisfied with what the visitors had effected. They had rendered monachism no longer formidable: its dependents were humbled and alarmed; rather anxious to secure the continuance of their own establishments, than eager to aid the policy of hostile foreigners. Nor could those who had been interested in the late visitation rather upon religious, than upon political grounds, avoid feeling that it had rendered important services to the cause which they had at heart. The monastic orders were notoriously the most subtle and active enemies of Scriptural Christianity: the destruction of their influence must, therefore, necessarily have preceded the general reception of a faith derived from the Record alone. The Universities had been schools of ingenious trifling and doctrinal errors, rather than of sound learning either sacred or profane. Hence it was necessary that these venerable seats of education should be purged from the trash which ages of ignorance and prejudice had accumulated, before they could diffuse over the country an enlightened and efficient body of clergymen.

Not only, however, was the King intent upon

[n] Collier, Records, II. 33.

delivering his own subjects from the intolerable evils which had flowed from their connexion with papal Rome; he was also anxious to emancipate the whole island from the usurpations of that antichristian power. The throne of Scotland was then filled by James V. the son of Henry's elder sister Margaret, a prince who had shewn considerable vigour and ability in the government of his turbulent subjects. To this monarch, then in the prime of manhood, Barlow, Bishop of St. Asaph elect, and an individual named Holcroft, had been despatched in the early part of the present year. These ambassadors were commissioned to explain to the Scottish King the grounds of his uncle's proceedings as to religion, and to urge upon him the propriety and advantage of adopting a similar line of policy in his own dominions. They were furnished with a document[a] in which were set forth some of the principal civil and religious injuries inflicted by the Roman Bishops upon mankind. In this paper, James was reminded of the divided allegiance paid to their native sovereign by a Popish people; of the injurious interference exercised by Popes over the concerns of independent states; of the intolerable usage sustained from the Pontiffs by Henry II. and John, Kings of England, by Henry IV. and Lewis IV. Emperors of Germany, and by Childeric, King of France. But these encroachments upon mere men, as temporal princes are, were represented as light of-

[a] Printed by Strype, Eccl. Mem. Appendix, I. 230.

fences, when compared with the assumption of divine powers, by which the Pope is distinguished. To him was applied those terms, by which St. Paul has designated a power that would afflict the Church. He was said to be "the man of sin, the son of perdition, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he, as God, sitteth in the temple of God[p]." "And doth he not," it was asked, "sit in the temple of God by damnable dispensations, by deceivable remissions, by lying miracles, by feigned relics, by false religion?" Irresistibly as such an appeal must force upon every candid and rational mind a conviction of the character assigned by Scripture to the Papacy, James shut his ears to the voice of inspiration. Worldly policy, and deeply-rooted prejudices, would not allow him to hear the truth. He coldly replied to the English ambassadors, that he would refer their arguments to the consideration of his clergy. This was evidently no more than a civil mode of declining any farther attention to Henry's proposal, and therefore the Englishmen soon after returned to their own country. However, when the news of the unpromising reception which his ambassadors had received reached the English monarch, he did not lay aside his hopes of inducing James to entertain sounder views. Bishop Barlow was again sent to the Scottish court, in the train of Lord William Howard, the Duke of

[p] 2 Thess. ii. 3, 4.

Norfolk's brother. James, upon this occasion, was invited to an interview with his royal uncle, at which it was proposed that Henry himself should unfold the advantages likely to be showered upon Scotland by the reformation of her religious system. This proposal could not be declined by James without an impolitic appearance of disrespect to his uncle. He therefore professed his readiness to meet the English monarch; but, at the same time, he requested that the interview should take place in France. Having gained time by this unreasonable proposal, he secretly despatched a messenger to Rome, for the purpose of obtaining from the Pope a brief, prohibiting any personal intercourse with the King of England[1]. Of course, the request was readily granted; and then James was enabled to produce the ridiculous instrument which he had received from Italy, as a reason why he must altogether decline the satisfaction of meeting his uncle.

Besides thus endeavouring to cement his alliance with Scotland, Henry also laboured to make a common cause with such continental powers as were interested in opposing the Emperor. The King of France appears to have stepped forward as a mediator between the German Protestants and the Pope. He had recommended, as it was reported, to those religionists, that they would at least concede to the Pontiff the honour of being considered as Primate of the West; and Melanc-

[1] "As our ambassadors write." Herbert, 184.

thon, ever sighing for peace, had shewn a disposition to approve this concession[r]. But Henry was so much concerned to withhold from the Roman see every degree of power or privilege, that he naturally felt anxious to prevent the farther progress of a negociation which could not fail of inspiring the Papists with the hope of quickly regaining all that they had lost. Accordingly he instructed Sir John Wallop, his agent at the French court, to reason with Francis upon the impolicy of devising new gratifications for the Pontiff, when, on the contrary, he would find his account in delivering his dominions from the interference of that encroaching personage altogether[s]. The German Protestants were also advised in the King's name to deny the claim of primacy to the papal see. Their leaders were assembled at Smalcald in the beginning of December, and Bishop Fox, of Hereford, met them there in quality of ambassador from the English court. One of the first objects to which this prelate turned his attention after his arrival, was to press upon the confederates the propriety of adopting some uniform standard of doctrine[t]. The world had been lately scandalised by the lamentable excesses which a band of fanatical Anabaptists had committed at Munster[u]. The disgraceful transactions there, in

[r] Letter of the Council to Secretary Cromwell. Strype, Eccl. Mem. Appendix, I. 243.

[s] Ibid.

[t] Herbert, 186.

[u] Munster was retaken by its lawful sovereign, on the 24th of June, 1535. Du Pin, IV. 58.

which gross sensuality and worldly pride had been thinly disguised under an extravagant profession of piety, were represented by the Romanists as a fair sample of the character and objects which the Reformation would eventually unfold. The plausible colour thus afforded to the Romish zealots for their hostility to the Reformers, was heightened by the differences of opinion notoriously prevailing among the Protestant leaders. This fact was represented by the papal divines as an undeniable proof that their adversaries were bewildered in a maze of such errors as must in the end expose themselves and their opinions to the derision of all mankind. Nor could the friends of the Reformation avoid a feeling of uneasiness when they contemplated the dissensions of their party; while foreign princes, who, with whatever motives, were interested in their success, were naturally anxious to promote that union among them which alone could render them formidable. Fox, therefore, was instructed to omit nothing which was likely to unite them firmly together. For the purpose of effecting this object, he offered to confer with their divines, in the hope that, by his mediation and assistance, some plan might be devised to reconcile existing diversities of opinion. At the same time he warned them against being thrown off their guard by the artifices of the Pope, who now pretended that he was about to convoke a general council. This announcement the Bishop represented as a mere expedient on the Pontiff's part to gain time; and,

besides, as a design incapable of satisfactory accomplishment, unless the several powers should cordially concur in it, and unless for its meeting could be found a place beyond the reach of any influence likely to overawe its deliberations. Since, however, no reasonable hope could be entertained that a council thus recommended to the attention of Europe would be assembled, the confederated Protestants were assured of the King's determination to withhold his concurrence from such a deliberative body as might, perhaps, meet under papal authority. That authority, it was said, England had utterly renounced, with the full approbation of her most learned and judicious divines, as might be seen from the sermons of several bishops which the ambassador offered to the perusal of his auditors. He concluded his address by declaring, that Henry felt anxious to concert with his German allies some plan for the general restoration of true religion; and he begged that certain individuals might be appointed to consult with him in private upon such points of importance to both parties as were unfit for public discussion[x]. In reply to the English minister, the confederates declared that their differences of opinion were a good deal exaggerated, since they all agreed in assenting to the confession of Augsburg; that they concurred with the King in treating the Pope's preparations for the assembling of a general council as delusive; that they had al-

[x] Herbert, 186.

ready signified to the papal legate their objections to Mantua, the place at which it had been proposed the council should meet[y]; that they denied to the Pontiff the right of convening such a body, and maintained that such right was vested in the Emperor, with the concurrence of the other princes of Christendom[z]. After these public declarations on both sides, certain select members of the Protestant confederacy held many private conferences with the ambassador. In these were settled the terms of a treaty between England and the Smalcaldic league, by which either party was to arm in defence of the other, if attacked; and Henry engaged to furnish the Germans with pecuniary supplies[a]. Thus far both parties were satisfied with each other; but, upon the whole, there was no great cordiality between them. Henry was still anxious to obtain from the principal Protestant divines a full approval of his marriage with Anne Boleyn, but upon this subject many of them continued inflexible. There were those who could not be brought to pronounce that a marriage with a brother's widow was so utterly unlawful, as to justify the contracting of a new matrimonial connexion while both the parties to the former one

[y] "In the year 1535, (Paul III.) expressed his inclination to convoke one (a general council) at Mantua." Mosheim, IV. 101.

[z] Herbert, 186.

[a] Answer of the King's ambassadors made to the Duke of Saxe and Landgrave of Hesse. Strype, Eccl. Mem. Appendix, I. 239.

survived. The King was also disappointed of a visit from Melancthon, who indeed was now in the highest request. Both France and England contended, unsuccessfully, for the honour of entertaining him. In the former country, it is true, he had no reason to believe that his presence could be desired on any other than merely political grounds, as though Francis supported the Protestants abroad, he persecuted them at home. Nor was Melancthon altogether pleased with what he saw of the English nation. Of the individuals attached to the embassy, no one gave him any satisfaction except Dr. Nicholas Heath[b]. Indeed, the German Protestants, generally, were disappointed by the tardiness with which the Reformation proceeded in England; and they viewed the accession of Henry to their confederacy rather as an object of political importance, than as a triumph gained by the cause of religious truth. In this point of view they considered an intimate connexion with the English court to be an object worthy of their serious regards; and accordingly, in order to gratify the King, they named him the protector and defender of their religion.

[b] "Nicholas Heth, the Archdeacon, alone excels in humanity and learning among our guests. As for the rest of them, they have no relish for our philosophy and sweetness. Therefore I shun, as much as I can, converse with them." Letter from Melancthon to Camerarius, cited by Strype. Eccl. Mem. I. 351.

CHAPTER VI.

Death of Catharine of Aragon—Behaviour of the King and Queen—Jane Seymour comes into notice—Overture from the Emperor—Suppression of the smaller monasteries—Many of the religious secularised—Revenue accruing to the crown from the suppression—Arrangements made for adjusting claims upon the monastic property—Petition to the King for a new translation of the Bible—Cranmer's conduct in consequence—Proposals of the German Protestants—The King conceives a disgust for Anne Boleyn—She is committed to the Tower—Charges against her—Cranmer writes to the King in her favour—She and her supposed accomplices are brought to trial—Her behaviour before the court—Execution of those accused of sharing her guilt—Her marriage pronounced null and void—Her execution—The King marries Jane Seymour—The Lady Elizabeth declared illegitimate, and the Lady Mary reconciled to her father—Unsuccessful overture from the Pope—Proceedings in Parliament—The Romish party complain in Convocation of liberties taken with their opinions—Debates upon the Book of Articles—That summary at length approved by the Convocation—Account of it—Neither party satisfied—The Convocation consulted respecting a general council—Royal manifesto upon this subject—The prelates required to state their opinion of some principles recently advocated by Pole—His treatise in Defence of Ecclesiastical Unity—Tunstall's Letter to him, occasioned by the reading of this work—Starky's letter upon the same subject—Conduct of the King—Gardiner writes in defence of the royal supremacy—Cromwell's injunctions to the clergy.

THE hopes entertained by the reforming party, that the King would still be compelled to forward their designs by the exigency of his affairs, re-

ceived a check at the beginning of the present year, by the removal of a main obstacle in the way of his reconciliation with the Pope and the Emperor. The constitution of the unfortunate Catharine had been sinking during several months under the pressure of anxiety and disappointment. Her nephew's interference had proved utterly unavailing, the papal fulminations had provoked only indignant contempt, her more active partizans had paid with their lives the forfeit of their temerity; while her rival Anne retained her influence over the King's affections, and by the progress of a new pregnancy revived his fond anticipations of male progeny[a]. In the last October, the repudiated princess was residing at Buckden, in the Bishop of Lincoln's house; where, finding her health decline, she became anxious for a removal to another abode. When her desire was known at court, preparations were made for her sojourn at the castle of Fotheringay; but no persuasions could reconcile her to the idea of taking up her quarters in that fortress. "If I go to Fotheringay," she said, "the King must send me thither bound with ropes, as a prisoner[b]." At length she was transferred to Kimbolton[c], where then stood one of the royal residences[d]. At this place it soon became evident that her struggles with the various ills which had clouded her latter years would be of no long continuance, and on the 8th

[a] Herbert, 188. [b] Strype, Eccl. Mem. I. 370.
[c] "Locum minus salubrem." Polyd. Verg.
[d] Heylin, Hist. Ref. 179.

of January death released her gentle spirit from the burden of earthly cares[e]. To the last she asserted her claims to royalty, and retained her affection for the King. She expired in the fiftieth year of her age, and in the three and thirtieth of her residence in England[f]. A short time before her dissolution she dictated a letter to the King, in which she addressed him as "her most dear Lord, King, and Husband;" exhorted him to an earnest care of his spiritual concerns, from a neglect of which, she said, he had brought many troubles both upon himself and her; however, she assured him of her forgiveness, recommended their common daughter to his affectionate care, entreated that matrimonial settlements should be provided for the three maids who attended her, and a year's wages, besides arrears, to her other servants. After making these requests, she thus concluded: "Lastly, I make this vow, that mine eyes have desired you above all things[g]."

When the King received this last proof of Catharine's affection, he was moved even to tears. Indeed, he had little reason to remember the wife of his youth with any other sentiments than those of tenderness and regret. After her death he gave orders for the solemnization of her funeral in a style suited to her birth[h]; but he would not allow the fulfilment of one request contained in her will. She had desired in that instrument to be interred in a convent of Observants; probably,

[e] Strype, Eccl. Mem. I. 373.
[f] Herbert, 188.
[g] Heylin, Hist. Ref. 179.
[h] Herbert, 188.

on account of the zeal displayed by those friars in her cause. The corpse, however, was carried to the abbey church of Peterborough, and there consigned to the tomb. Another of Catharine's testamentary requests marks the character of that religion with which her name is so inseparably connected. She desired that five hundred masses should be said for the repose of her soul, and that some person should go in pilgrimage to our Lady of Walsingham, bestowing in his way to that idol twenty nobles in charity[i]. The property which she left behind her was valued at something more than five thousand marks[k].

It was hardly to be expected that the melancholy feelings which the news of Catharine's decease excited in the King's breast should be shared by his consort. Anne naturally heard with some satisfaction that the princess, whose claims to the throne were regarded by many as superior to her own, was at length removed out of the way. It would, however, have been to the credit of her sensibility and discretion, if the intelligence of her rival's death had induced her to assume an appearance of decent sorrow. But Anne scorned to dissemble[l]. It has been even said by some historians, that her conduct upon this occasion discovered an unfeeling levity, and a vindictive

[i] The last will and testament of Princess Catharine, Dowager. Strype, Eccl. Mem. Appendix, I. 252.

[k] Rich, Solicitor-general to the King. Ibid. 255.

[l] "Lætata est." Polyd. Verg.

spirit[m]. Certainly, she soon after lost her hold upon Henry's affections: a misfortune not unlikely to have originated in the demonstration on her part of a feeling neither in unison with his own, nor consistent with strict propriety. This cause of disgust, if such it were, was soon after followed by an incident which completely alienated the King from the woman whom he had once so passionately loved. Anne was prematurely delivered of a still-born male child[n]. Thus were Henry's cherished hopes again dashed to the ground; and superstition whispered in his ear, that his second marriage, like the former one, had been contracted under circumstances which rendered him obnoxious to the wrath of Heaven.

It is probable that the antipathy with which the King began to view his wife was daily augmented by the fascinations of a young lady about the court, who had captivated his affections. Sir John Seymour was descended from a Norman adventurer, who had carved out with his sword a settlement in England under the auspices of William the Conqueror. Sir John was seated at Wolf Hall, in Wiltshire. His family consisted of three sons and a daughter. The latter, named Jane, proved highly attractive as she advanced towards womanhood, both from the fine symme-

[m] "Cæterum Anna Bolena Catharinæ funebrem diem, non atri sed flavi coloris vestibus induta, celebravit." (Sanders.) "Anne Boleyn wore yellow for the mourning of Catharine of Aragon." Halle.

[n] In February. Ibid.

try of her person, and from the sweetness of her temper. She became one of the maids of honour to the Queen; and while serving in that capacity, her charms totally estranged Henry's fickle heart from his unfortunate wife. Anne marked the transfer of his affections with grief and dismay; but hers was not a spirit to regain what she had lost. Her mortification rather found a vent in irritating insinuations, than in mild expostulation, or in winning blandishments[o]. Thus she confirmed the aversion of her overbearing husband, and, like Catharine of Aragon, found herself reduced to the galling necessity of seeing in one of her attendants a successful rival.

The Emperor was no sooner informed of his aunt's death, than, after a decent demonstration of regret, he conceived the design of placing once more his intercourse with England upon a more friendly footing. Accordingly, the imperial minister at the English court was instructed to propose, that Henry should immediately renew his connexion with the Roman see, by the aid of Charles's mediation; that he should assist the Austrians in repelling the aggressions of Turkey; and that, according to the terms of the treaty concluded in 1518, he should co-operate in resisting the designs of Francis upon the Milanese. To these propositions Henry replied, that the friendship formerly subsisting between the Emperor and himself had been interrupted solely by

[o] This appears from Anne's last letter to the King.

the former, and that he was willing to renew it, if his nephew would acknowledge himself to have caused the breach; that the proceedings against the Bishop of Rome, being evidently just, and being ratified by Parliament, were irrevocable; that when the princes of Christendom should be reconciled to each other, he would act as became one of them in concerting measures against the infidels; and that, as for the French and Imperialists, he could wish to shew himself the friend of both parties, ready to interpose between them his good offices in the cabinet, or if negociation should fail in averting war, to aid in the field that side which should be unjustly attacked[p]. This answer of the English court reached the Emperor at Rome. In that city, Henry's mode of treating the Pontiff could not fail of giving great offence: nor was Charles himself anxious for a closer alliance with England when he discovered that he could not thereby calculate upon any political advantage. Dr. Pace, therefore, the English minister, perceived that his overtures were disregarded; and that without such concessions on his master's part as he was not authorised to make, the Imperialists would continue to regard his country with a hostile eye.

Henry, however, found himself under no necessity to compromise the dignity of his crown for the sake of forming alliances abroad. His Parliament appeared cordially disposed to approve

[p] Herbert, 188. From the instructions transmitted to Dr. Richard Pace.

the line of policy that he had adopted. The great national council assembled on the 4th of February, after a prorogation of fourteen months; and it fully maintained that character of boldness in treating of ecclesiastical affairs which had been so strikingly manifested during its long continuance. It was enacted, that tenths should not be exacted from the holders of ecclesiastical preferments in the year when they became liable for first fruits; that former acts restraining the Convocation from making canons without the consent of the crown, and also empowering the King to nominate a committee of thirty-two for the revision of the canon-law, be confirmed; that certain regulations be imposed upon those who claimed the privilege of sanctuary; and that a new fiscal and judicial establishment be formed, designated as the Court of Augmentation of the Royal Revenue. This court was to be employed in receiving surrenders of monasteries, and in adjusting the affairs consequent upon such transfers of property from the religious to the crown. Its business immediately became considerable; as the Legislature passed an act during this session, by which all religious houses possessed of an annual revenue not exceeding two hundred pounds were suppressed, and their property of every kind bestowed upon the King. To prepare the Parliament and the country for this bold measure, the report of those who had been employed to visit the monasteries was submitted to the two Houses. In this document, the idleness and depravity by which it appeared

that so many monastic seclusions were disgraced, were fully exposed; the waste and misapplication of their funds were placed in a strong light; and the superstitions, frauds, and fooleries, by which monasteries debased, pillaged, and duped the people, were unsparingly revealed. The reasonings built upon these undeniable facts received additional force from a knowledge of the pertinacity with which the monastic societies supported the papal cause. Indeed, few men of sense and candour could be found to deny that convents opposed considerable obstacles to the complete independence and religious improvement of the nation. To these considerations in favour of the suppression was added another, which seldom fails to carry great weight with it in the estimation of most men. It was notorious that the King's relations with the Emperor were in a very unsettled state, and that, therefore, it would be necessary to raise and repair some fortifications; perhaps also to equip an armament, in order to be prepared against any attempts to which the craft or ambition of Charles might incite him. As, therefore, the case evidently required that some precautions should be taken, and as the King's inability to encounter any unusual expense was generally understood; the Parliament was sufficiently ready to place a mass of monastic property at the disposal of the crown, in the hope of thus supplying the sovereign's necessities without imposing taxes upon the people[q].

[q] Herbert, 191.

By the act for the suppression of the smaller monasteries, three hundred and seventy-six conventual societies were dissolved[r]. Of the individuals thus ejected from their residences, some were transferred to the larger religious houses; others were wholly freed from monastic restraints, and sent once more to mingle with the world. This alternative was left to their own choice; so that if we except the reluctance with which some of them would naturally leave their accustomed abodes, no just cause of complaint was afforded to the religious from this suppression. Even those of them who chose a secular life, were not allowed to adopt that course without taking sufficient time for deliberation; as they were obliged first to obtain the permission either of the Vicar General, or of the Archbishop of Canterbury. They were to be furnished with a letter from the commissioners employed in the suppression of their house, to one of these two great personages, and from him they were to receive a "Capacity" for that change in their condition, which they had desired to make. Being thus furnished with a licence to resume the habits of ordinary life, the commissioners were charged to bestow upon the secularised religious some reasonable allowance. In the apportioning of this, they were to use their own discretion, and to be guided by a consideration of the distance which the dismissed party had to travel before he could reach his friends.

[r] Holinshed.

To the superiors of these houses, an annual pension was assigned, payable from the Court of Augmentation[s]. When these arrangements are fairly considered, they must appear just and merciful; nor do they afford any reasonable ground for that obloquy, which prejudice or ignorance has cast upon this first suppression. It has been said, that nuns secularised at this time were allowed little or nothing more than a dress such as women then ordinarily wore; and that religious persons of the other sex were only allowed a priest's gown, and forty shillings in money[t]. But it must be observed, that the instructions of the commissioners do not limit them to any such allowances. It is therefore reasonable to suppose, that such a scanty outfit, if supplied in any cases, was restricted to those religious who either were in the immediate vicinity of their relatives, or were found to bear an exceptionable character. Nor should it be forgotten, that the religious were not constrained to accept the terms offered to them. If they chose to continue in their profession, they were furnished with a letter from the visitors to the superior of some larger convent. It must therefore be supposed, that only those who were weary of a monastic life, or who dreaded a stricter discipline, or who bore a bad character, were secularised upon this occasion: and it is evident, that persons coming under either of these

[s] Instructions for the King's commissioners. Burnet, Hist. Ref. Records, I. 229.

[t] Stowe.

descriptions, were not entitled to any thing beyond the bare means of returning into the bosom of society. It does indeed appear, that a very large number of discontented and nearly destitute persons were, upon this occasion, turned adrift upon the world. It is said, that more than ten thousand individuals, including the conventual servants, were now deprived of their resources [u]. Nor will the statement probably seem very much overcharged, when it is recollected that England, like other Popish countries, was overrun with begging friars. These men, derived as they generally have been from the lowest classes in society, and having assumed the religious habit in most cases because they preferred privileged, and seemingly sanctified mendicity, to manual labour; would feel little disposition to be immured in the larger monasteries, and still less to gain a subsistence by the daily drudgery of humble life. From the bulk of them, accordingly, nothing was to be expected, but that after they could no longer live in their convents, they should make the best terms in their power, and resolve to practise upon their own accounts those arts of canting and beggary, to which they had been trained by all the habits of their monastic profession. To let loose at once upon the ignorant and unwary such a number of artful hypocrites, was certainly a hazardous experiment. It would perhaps have been a sounder policy to have subjected the mendicant orders to

[u] Stowe.

a stricter governance, and to have secured their gradual extinction by allowing them to receive no new members.

By this suppression, an annual revenue, estimated at thirty-two thousand pounds, and moveable property worth at least one hundred thousand pounds, came into the King's possession [x]. Considerable, however, as is the income unanimously assigned by historians to the body of smaller monasteries, it does not appear sufficient to maintain the number of individuals said to have been dependent upon these establishments. To solve this difficulty, it has been supposed that the property of the suppressed houses was considerably under-rated [y]; and that a large portion of the ejected religious were mendicants [z]; a class of men who subsisted not so much upon the produce of fixed estates, as upon the good-natured credulity of the neighbouring population. Each of these suppositions is highly probable. While so large a mass of property was changing hands, no vigilance could prevent considerable embezzlements, which individuals would be glad to cover by producing estimates short of the truth. Nor can it be readily understood, how the religious, turned adrift upon the country, could have been so numerous and mischievous as they soon appeared to be, unless they chiefly belonged to that

[x] Holinshed.

[y] Stowe says, that the monastic effects, according to this rating, were "Robin Hood's penny-worths."

[z] Hume.

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class which shrank from the monotony of a cloister, and which had been trained to delude the superstitious vulgar. It has also been remarked, that the Court of Augmentation was organised upon a scale needlessly large, if the government had intended to content itself with seizing the property of the smaller converts. Hence it has been inferred, that this suppression was merely intended to feel the pulse of the people as to a general confiscation of the monastic property. Stokesley, Bishop of London[a], plainly expressed himself convinced of this, during the debate in the House of Lords upon the proposed suppression. "These lesser houses," said the prelate, "are like thorns, soon plucked up: the great abbeys are like putrefied old oaks; yet these must needs follow; and so will others in Christendom before many years are past." Their danger, however, either was not apparent to "the great and fat abbots," as Halle styles them; or they thought it prudent to dissemble their uneasiness: since it was with their consent, as Lords of Parliament, that the smaller convents were suppressed. Perhaps they confided in the commendations which the visitors had bestowed upon the management of their houses[b]; and in the views entertained by Archbishop Cranmer, with others of his party,

[a] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 301. Halle does not name the individual who made this speech; he merely ascribes it to "one in the Parliament House."

[b] Which were repeated in the preamble to the act for the suppression of the smaller monasteries. Collier.

who wished that abbeys should be restored to the uses for which they had been founded in the earlier Anglo-Saxon times, rather than totally suppressed. Knowing that such was a favourite object with individuals then possessed of great influence, the abbots were justified in reasoning, that although the wisdom of the Legislature, and the awakening intelligence of the nation, would no longer allow them to serve the Pope, and to promote superstition; they might still hope for the continuance of their houses, with new and substantial claims upon the gratitude of the country.

The suppression was not carried into effect without a due consideration of the claims, which the public and individuals could justly make upon the conventual property. The founders of many monasteries had reserved out of the endowments bestowed upon these establishments, certain privileges or payments, which were to descend to their representatives. It was provided, that any conventual estates which had been liable to such burdens or deductions, should still continue so[c]. Care was taken also, that the neighbourhoods of suppressed monasteries should not lose the benefits which these establishments had been accustomed to dispense by their alms and hospitality. It was enacted, that the grantees or purchasers of these religious houses should keep an honest and continual house in the same site or precinct, un-

[c] Herbert, 191.

der a penalty of six pounds, thirteen shillings, and four pence, for every month during which they should neglect to do so. The justices of the peace were empowered to enquire of the premises, to try the cause, and to assess the fine[d]. Another act of justice not forgotten was, that the commissioners for the suppression undertook to satisfy all debts, and to clear off all incumbrances lawfully contracted by the several convents. On one occasion this undertaking gave rise to a ludicrous incident. A religious house had pawned, for forty pounds, part of a human finger, encased in an ounce of silver. This disgusting bauble, known as a fragment of one of St. Andrew's fingers, was brought to the commissioners in order to be redeemed, when the convent to which the pretended relic had belonged, was suppressed. But the commissioners refused to consider this as a just debt, and the unlucky creditor was unable to obtain any other return from his forty pounds, than the ounce of silver, and the pleasure of believing that the portion of a dead man's finger in his possession, had once formed a member of an apostle's hand[e].

During the session of Parliament, Cranmer again urged the Convocation of his province to take some effectual measures for supplying the people with an authorised version of the Bible. Already had the labours of Wickliffe and Tyndale been

[d] Collier, II. 114. This clause was repealed in the reign of James I.

[e] Herbert, 192.

decried as injurious to a correct understanding of the Sacred Volume. Another translator might now be expected to engage the attention of the public; and it was not difficult to foresee that his work, being accomplished by an unpatronised individual, would, like the former versions, be charged with gross and wilful inaccuracy. Miles Coverdale, a native of Yorkshire, had formerly been an Austin friar[f]; but conceiving a disgust for such religious principles, as cannot be traced to any unquestionable source, he had relinquished the monkish habit; and had applied himself abroad to the translation of Scripture, an arduous task, completed in the preceding October[g]. Copies of his Bible had probably already found their way into England: at all events, it was certain that many of them would soon be imported. It was therefore just, that either the new translation should be allowed to circulate without censure, or that an authorised version should be prepared for the purpose of superseding it. The latter measure appears to have been that which was approved by the Archbishop. He moved in the

[f] Godwin, De Præsul. 417.

[g] This Bible was published in folio. In the last page are these words: "Prynted in the yeare of our Lorde 1535, and fynished the fourth day of October." Perhaps, however, copies of this work were not sold to any considerable extent before the following summer; as in some of them, in the dedication to the King, Jane Seymour is mentioned as Queen. In other copies, however, Anne Boleyn is thus designated. Lewis, 99. Dr. Cotton's List of Editions of the Bible. Oxf. 1821, 4.

Convocation, that an address should again be presented to the King, praying for a new translation of Scripture without delay. This motion was strenuously opposed by the Romish party. They alleged, that all the heretical and extravagant opinions which distracted Germany, and thence found their way into England, originated in an indiscriminate freedom of access to the Scriptures. The evils attributed to this licence were illustrated by the case of the Dutch refugees, who had been burnt in the preceding year for denying "that Christ was both God and man; that he took flesh and blood of the Virgin Mary; and that the sacraments produced any effect upon those who received them:" errors which these unfortunate persons had derived, it was said, from their incompetence to interpret that Sacred Volume, which had been injudiciously submitted to their perusal. From this instance, and others of a similar character, it was inferred, that especially in the existing unsettled state of men's religious opinions, an English Bible, instead of a blessing, would prove a snare to the people. It was therefore proposed, to remedy the admitted want of popular instruction, by publishing a short exposition of faith and morals, such as might serve to direct the lives of men without unsettling the established principles of religious and political obedience. This proposal was not disapproved by the contrary party; but they contended, that such a manual of popular instruction would prove neither thoroughly effective, nor satisfactory to

the nation, unless, having facilities for a reference to God's undoubted Word, men could thus convince themselves, that the authorised exposition of faith and morals was worthy of their confidence. The Archbishop also intreated the Convocation to consider the disadvantageous opinion which many of the laity would certainly form of their spiritual guides, if they should persist in decrying former translations of the Bible, and in evading or rejecting every proposal for supplying the nation with a new and unexceptionable version. He truly remarked, that such conduct afforded to the enemies of the Church a plausible ground for charging its ministers with being conscious of a variance between their doctrine and the volume from which they professed to derive it. These arguments, joined to the speaker's influence, at length prevailed; and the Convocation addressed the King, praying of him to give orders for a new translation of the Scriptures into English, such as that every parish might be safely enjoined to provide a copy of it [h].

The Romish party, having been thus foiled in the Convocation, exerted their influence at court to draw from the King a refusal to the request of his clergy. They represented, that a free use of Scripture would unsettle the minds of his people; and that, if he should allow such a hazardous experiment, he must not henceforth expect to rule with ease and tranquillity. Happily, however,

[h] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 301.

there were advisers about the royal person, who placed the question in a different point of view. These counsellors suggested, that the comparisons instituted between the King's supremacy and the Pope's, could not fail to be greatly in favour of the former, when men saw that one of its earliest fruits was the diffusion of religious light; whereas the Papacy had invariably studied to shroud its practices in darkness. It was also represented, that nothing would more fully exhibit the Popedom to ingenuous minds, as a mere usurpation; nothing tend so thoroughly to discredit Monachism, and to expose those "lying wonders," to which that system clings instinctively for support; as to open the Word of God before the eyes of every man. Thus, it was observed, all who were not labouring under wilful blindness, might easily discover, that the institutions recently abolished, were founded upon daring and pernicious impostures. These reasonings were received with the attention justly due to them; and the King gave orders, that measures should immediately be taken for supplying his people with the Sacred Volume in their vernacular tongue[1].

Upon Cranmer the chief burden of this grateful labour appears to have rested; and the following was the mode according to which he proceeded. He caused an existing version of the Bible to be transcribed in separate portions, of which one was sent to each of the most learned

[1] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 303.

bishops, or to some other competent scholar; until the whole were thus disposed of. With his portion, every individual received an intimation, that he was expected to return it in a corrected state to the Archbishop by a certain day. The appointed time arrived; and every portion, excepting that assigned to Stokesley, Bishop of London, duly made its appearance at Lambeth. In order to supply this unexpected deficiency, Cranmer sent to Fulham, and begged that his messenger might be furnished with the corrected portion of Scripture, which my Lord of London had neglected to transmit. It was the Acts of the Apostles which had been submitted to this prelate's revision. When Stokesley received the message from Lambeth, he made the following reply: "I marvel what my Lord of Canterbury meaneth, that he thus abuseth the people, in giving them liberty to read the Scriptures; which doth nothing else but infect them with heresy. I have bestowed never an hour upon my portion, and never will. And, therefore, my Lord shall have his book again; for I never will be guilty of bringing the simple people into error." When the Archbishop was acquainted with this uncourteous speech, he merely observed: "I marvel that my Lord of London is so froward, that he will not do as other men do." "Why, as for that," said Lawney, one of the Duke of Norfolk's chaplains, who stood by; "Your Grace must consider, that the Acts of the Apostles are a portion of the New Testament. Peradventure my Lord of London

knows, that Christ has left him no legacy, and therefore he prudently resolves to waste no time upon that which will bring him no profit. Or it may be, as the apostles were a company of poor, illiterate men, my Lord of London disdaineth to concern himself about their acts[k]."

Meanwhile the dissolution of the smaller monasteries gave a new impulse to the negociations between England and the German Protestants. It was reasonably inferred from this decisive measure, that Henry was seriously intending to reform the Church. The inferior members of the English embassy returned home in January; Bishop Fox remained in Saxony. During his residence in that country, the proposals made by the Protestants to Henry, at the close of the last year, were communicated to Bishop Gardiner, then ambassador at the court of France. That artful prelate did not, upon this occasion, depart from the insidious policy which his party appears to have deliberately adopted. He replied, that if the King should bind himself as the confederates desired, he would be precluded from using his own discretion in reforming religion at home; that his Majesty could not treat upon equal terms with princes who were merely dukes at most, acknowledging the Emperor's superiority; and that it would be desirable to require from the confederates a formal admission of his indefeasible right to the supremacy, a prerogative which, it was said in France,

[k] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 48.

they were not willing to allow him, lest they should thereby afford a pretence to their own Emperor for the assumption of a similar privilege. These ingenious suggestions do not appear wholly to have missed their aim; and, accordingly, Fox was instructed to meet the proposals which had been made to him, in the following manner. He said[1], that the propositions submitted to the King, his master, though upon the whole satisfactory, needed some modification; that if the contracting parties should eventually form the proposed alliance, England would furnish the required subsidy; that his Majesty duly appreciated the honour of being named Patron of the Protestant League; and although sensible of the responsibility attached to that distinction, would not decline it, provided that arrangements satisfactory to both parties should be effected; that the immediate prospect of this unanimity was impeded by the adoption, on the part of the confederates, of the Augsburg confession, in which there were articles not perfectly in unison with his Majesty's sentiments; that, in order to remove these obstacles, a conference should be holden between the most eminent divines of both England and Germany; that the two contracting parties should pledge themselves to assist each other in case of attack; that the confederates should formally approve that favourable opinion of the King's second marriage, which some of their divines had expressed;

[1] March 12. Herbert, 192.

and that if an unexceptionable general council should be assembled, they should there advocate that opinion. To these propositions, which really tended to no definite end, except the recognition by some of the minor European princes of Henry's matrimonial proceedings, the Duke of Saxony replied [m], that the confederates being not then altogether, it would not be possible to obtain their sentiments as a body in less than a month; but that, notwithstanding, arrangements should be immediately made for the despatching of an ambassador to England. Sturmius, accordingly, was invested with this character; and with him three divines, Melancthon, Bucer, and Draco, were commissioned to visit our island [n].

The hopes justly conceived by the friends of a scriptural faith from these advances towards an alliance between Henry and the German Protestants, were, however, damped by the fall of that unfortunate lady whose influence, once so powerful, had constantly been exerted to favour the Reformation. The Queen's brilliant career now verged upon its mournful termination; and by her case, men were again instructed that the most extravagant objects of human ambition often bring only misery and ruin upon those who have seemingly been so fortunate as to attain them. Anne's situation was no sooner rendered secure, according to appearance, by her rival's death, than the King's love for her began to wane. Pro-

[m] April 24. Herbert, 193. [n] Ibid.

bably her disposition and habits tended to bring about this misfortune: gay and buoyant in spirits, of quick intelligence, and upright intentions, Anne's manners appear to have been unreserved, her conversation shrewd and sprightly. To a lover, and one too of royal condition, a beautiful mistress, thus gifted, could hardly fail of appearing highly attractive: but such a woman might want the pliancy of temper, without which she would have little chance of retaining permanently the kind regards of a capricious and overbearing husband. An unguarded freedom of manners and conversation is indeed seldom unattended with danger, unless it is controuled by a very unusual degree of kindness and discernment. By Henry the easy manners of his wife seem to have been viewed as a proof of her little affection for him; an unhappy notion, which was eagerly encouraged by those who envied Anne on account of her elevation, or who hated her as the patroness of a religion, which aimed to supersede their own. To these her enemies she constantly afforded new opportunities of aggravating the King's disgust, by her careless gaiety of heart, and open frankness of disposition. Too late the miserable Queen felt her husband's alienation, and strove, by conciliating attentions, to rekindle his once ardent love. The fire of jealousy that raged within his breast, had, however, been fed too long; and in sullen dissatisfaction he remained upon the watch for some incident which might seem conclusive of his consort's guilt.

The festivities by which, according to the habits of the age, the first of May was celebrated, produced the fatal explosion. The court was then at Greenwich, and a tournament was to find amusement for the day. In this sport, the principal actors were the Queen's brother, George, Viscount Rochford, and Henry Norris, groom of the stole, an officer for whom the King had entertained a great regard. To her brother, Anne was much attached; and, as both from his situation and from Henry's friendship for him, Norris was necessarily well known to her, it is probable that she had been observed to treat him with that easy good-nature which she seems to have shewn in her intercourse with all those whom she esteemed. Upon her demonstrations of kindness towards these two individuals, rumours injurious to her fame appear to have been founded. It was Lord Rochford's misfortune to live upon no friendly terms with his wife; who now indulged her animosity by declaring him guilty of an incestuous commerce with the Queen. While this monstrous charge was yet obscurely creeping through the palace, the finger of calumny cautiously marked Norris as another of Anne's paramours. Such vile tales never grope their dark and devious course without accumulating at every turn new features of aggravation. Whispers soon were heard, imputing to the calumniated Queen a criminal intercourse with others who had been so unfortunate as to be admitted into her presence. It was while the envenomed shafts of slander flew

thus thickly around her, that Anne, unconscious of her danger, appeared once more in public, surrounded by the splendours of royalty. Nothing could be more likely to aid on that fatal day the machinations of her enemies, than that two of those who were said to be the partners of her guilt, should naturally upon this occasion have engrossed the whole of her attention. Such a woman as Anne would not fail to discover a lively interest in the exertions of the combatants to win her approbation; nor, at that critical time, was it possible that any favouring word, or even look, should have been either unregarded or fairly interpreted. Haunted as was Henry's mind by suspicions of his wife's fidelity, his attention could not fail to be riveted upon her conduct, and it was barely possible that the spectatress of atchievements accomplished by a valued brother and a gallant gentleman of her acquaintance, should not have evinced that interest in the sport from which the morbid eye of jealousy would infer the certainty of all that rumour had detailed. As might be expected, therefore, the King's anticipations were quickly realised sufficiently for his own satisfaction. Suddenly he left the balcony in which he had sate, not so much, probably, in expectation of amusement from the feats of arms exhibited before him, as in that of receiving from the conduct of his wife proof irresistible of her guilty interest in the combatants. It has been said that Anne dropped a handkerchief, and that one of the gentlemen engaged, taking it up, wiped his face

with it°. Nothing, however, is certainly known respecting Henry's abrupt departure, beyond the fact, that he discovered considerable displeasure. The Queen remarked his conduct with great uneasiness. She followed him into the palace; but it was too late to see him. He had hastily taken horse, and ridden to Westminster with only six attendants. Thither Anne was restrained from following him. He had left orders that she was not to leave her apartments. She passed the night and following morning in apprehension and perplexity. In the afternoon she resolved upon making an attempt to see her husband, and with an aching heart she embarked on board her barge, and desired the rowers to make the best of their way towards Westminster. She had not proceeded far up the river before the Duke of Norfolk, with some other members of the council, came on board, and produced an order for her committal to the Tower. She earnestly entreated to be allowed an interview with the King. To that request, however, the lords replied, that they were not warranted by their authority in acceding. In their way to that ancient fortress, the sight of whose white turrets must have stricken so chill a damp over the heart of many distinguished spectators, the dejected Queen was informed of the offences imputed to her. She vehemently exclaimed that she was foully wronged, and expressed her conviction that she could clear her

° Sanders. Dr. Lingard also tells his readers, that Anne, "*either from accident or design, dropt the handkerchief.*"

character to the King's satisfaction, if he would only consent to see her. When she arrived within the walls of her prison, she fell upon her knees, beseeching God to help her, and protesting her innocence of the crimes laid to her charge[p]. She was then conducted to the apartment in which she had passed the night preceding her coronation; and there her equanimity forsook her for a while. Wild laughter and desponding tears following each other in a hurried and unmeaning succession plainly revealed the tumult of her breast. At length the violence of her emotions subsided, and religion shed its healing influence over her wounded spirit. She requested that a consecrated wafer might be placed in the closet by her chamber. "I could wish," she said to Kingston, Lieutenant of the Tower, "to pray before the Sacrament for mercy, which I can the more confidently do, because I am as free from the company of man as for sin, as I am clear from you." She expressed a wish for the society of those divines who had risen by her interest to the episcopate; and, concluding her earthly career to be near its close, she declared her confident hope of soon becoming a saint in heaven. Every new circumstance, indeed, of which she was apprised, tended to aggravate the horror of her imprisonment, and to render her wholly dependent upon religion for support and consolation. She was informed that her brother and Norris had been

[p] Herbert, 194.

sent before her to the Tower, that William Brereton and Sir Thomas Weston, two gentlemen of the King's privy chamber, with Mark Smeton, a musician, had subsequently been immured in the same gloomy abode. No person of piety and feeling could fail of being much distressed by the thought of having occasioned, however innocently, so many unoffending individuals to be thus oppressed. Nor could a mind of ordinary sagacity avoid an apprehension, lest, from some one of so many prisoners, the fear of death, or the desire of gratifying the King, should extort a confession of crimes which had never been committed. Nor, indeed, was it long before Anne's enemies obtained evidence of this kind. The musician Smeton yielded to his fears, or, it may be, he displayed his innate baseness. He acknowledged, but it seems in a vague and general manner, that the charge against him was justly made. The tools of power then sought to practise upon the hopes and fears of the imprisoned gentlemen, in the hope of wringing from them too an admission of criminality. But they spurned the base suggestion. Norris declared, that in his conscience he believed the Queen innocent, and that he would rather die a thousand times than ruin a guiltless woman. The knowledge, however, of their virtuous constancy was kept from the unhappy Queen. On the contrary, she was led to believe that Norris especially had furnished some matter for an accusation against her. For such intimations she was indebted to her uncle's wife,

who, though personally disagreeable to her, was appointed to sleep in her chamber, and to whom was committed the disgraceful office of drawing her into such conversations as might supply evidence upon her trial. Anne had never been cautious in discourse; and she now, probably, thought that candour might mollify the King, and dispose him at least to retain his affection towards their infant daughter. Although, therefore, she firmly resisted the imputation of unfaithfulness to her marriage vow, she admitted that, upon occasions, her high spirits had betrayed her into the indulgence of a raillery little to be commended in any rank, and palpably unsuited to the princely station. She had condescended to enquire of Norris, why his marriage was so long deferred? "Madam," he replied, "I shall tarry yet some time." Her rejoinder was, "You look for dead men's shoes; for if aught come to the King but good, you look to have me." He answered, "If I have any such thought, I would that my head were cut off." This speech appears to have somewhat piqued her vanity. Turning to Norris, she said, "I can undo you if I please:" and then she left him in displeasure[1]. As for Smeton, she declared that he never was in her apartment except once at Winchester, when he was admitted for the purpose of performing upon the virginals. "After that time," she added, "I never saw him until the Saturday before May-day, when I observed him

[1] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 309.

standing in the oriel window of my presence-chamber. I then asked him, Why look ye so sad? It is no matter, he replied. I added, You may not look inferior in condition as you are, to have me speak to you as if you were a nobleman. No, no, Madam, said he, a look suffices me; and thus fare you well[r]." She admitted also that when Weston had recently, in her hearing, attributed the assiduities of Norris to his admiration of her person, she had commented upon his own preference of a lady connected with her family, to his wife. To this, it appears, he replied, "Ah! Madam, there are ladies in this house whom I love far better than either my wife or your Grace's kinswoman." "Pray, who are they?" she allowed herself to enquire. "Yourself, Madam," was his answer. "Nay then," she rejoined, "I defy you." Of all these indiscretions, it cannot be doubted that an exaggerated account had long since reached the King's ears; and that Anne's admissions in her prison fully confirmed him in the belief of every tale by which envy, malice, and, but too probably, religious bigotry also had conspired to blast her reputation. Against Lord Rochford, the principal, if not the only grounds of accusation, appear to have been supplied by the rage and jealousy of his wife: a woman who, after the lapse of a few years, furnished an apology for her husband's want of affection, by appearing as the

r "This shews him to have been some haughty person: and thought the Queen gave him not respect enough." Strype, Eccl. Mem. I. 436.

confidant of Catharine Howard. No presumption of Rochford's guilt has reached posterity, except the trivial fact, that he was once observed to lean upon his sister's bed before she had risen from it. Indeed, from all the particulars of this unhappy case which remain on record, it is impossible to fix upon Anne's memory the stain of moral guilt. Her brief career of splendour was unquestionably shaded by vanity and indiscretion. She was delighted to observe that the generality of men paid homage to those charms which had raised her to a throne; and nature had not formed her for dissembling the satisfaction which she felt. These venial faults do, however, appear to have been the sole blemishes of her character. If graver charges could have been securely fixed upon her memory, such would not be sought in vain among the writings of Romish authors; since their party have ever regarded her with unmitigated hate. But instead of such statements as would effectually sully the fame of this celebrated beauty, contemporary Romanists have left nothing for our notice but absurdities and indecencies, so gross and monstrous, that no man of sense, unless blinded by party delusion, has ever viewed them with any other feeling than contempt. Accordingly, therefore, to the best judgment that impartial posterity can form upon her case, Anne Boleyn's death appears to have been as base a legal murder as ever disgraced a Christian country[*].

[*] The following is the manner in which Dr. Lingard meets Anne's case. "It is plain that her conduct had been impru-

However, to the violent proceedings against her, Cranmer alone appears to have offered any opposition. Of the Archbishop's interference in behalf of his friend and patroness, and, probably, also of encountering his personal entreaties and arguments in her favour, the King appears to have felt apprehensive immediately upon the committal of Anne to the Tower. To avoid, therefore, what could not fail of causing to him some perplexity, he sent an order to the Primate, enjoining his removal to Lambeth, and his continuance there until the royal commands should be farther signified. Being thus interdicted from the presence of his sovereign, Cranmer could only interpose his kind offices by letter. In this way his services were not delayed. On the following day, May 3, he wrote to the King. He began his epistle by suggesting the obvious topics of religious comfort and exhortation. He then endeavoured to calm Henry's agitated feelings, by reminding him, that, if the reports of Anne's guilt were true, the infamy would light upon her head, not upon his; but, he added, that he could not hear without the utmost surprise such charges brought against one of whom he had entertained

dent; that she had descended from her high station to make "companions of her men servants; (i. e. the groom of the stole, and other gentlemen of the royal household;) and that she had been even so weak as to listen to their declarations of love. But whether she rested here, or abandoned herself to the impulse of licentious desire, is a question which, probably, never can be determined. The records of her trial and conviction have perished, *perhaps by the hands of those who respected her memory.*"

so high an opinion. He admitted, however, that he did not think his Grace capable of treating the unfortunate lady with such severity, unless he had strong grounds for his suspicions; but he prayed that she might succeed in clearing herself from all imputations; which, if she should fail of doing, he allowed that she would be unworthy of clemency. He concluded his letter by entreating the King not to permit his resentment to abate his zeal for the Gospel, lest it should be said that his love for Anne was the sole cause of his former conduct as to religion. Before this epistle was despatched to his Majesty, the Earls of Oxford and Sussex, with the Lord Chancellor, desired the Archbishop's attendance in the Star-chamber. There the specific charges against the Queen were laid before him; and he was informed that evidence to substantiate these could be produced. He thus noticed these circumstances in a postcript to his letter: "I am exceedingly sorry that such faults can be proved by the Queen, as I heard by their relation[t]." These words, however, convey

[t] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 310. The following is Dr. Lingard's view of this incident. "On the day after the arrest of the accused, he (the King) had ordered Cranmer to repair to his palace at Lambeth, but with an express injunction, that he should not venture into the royal presence. That such a message, at such a time, should excite alarm in the breast of the Archbishop, will not excite surprise; and the next morning he composed a most eloquent and ingenious epistle to the King." An ironical account of this epistle is then given; after which the historian thus proceeds: "But the alarm of the Archbishop was without any real

no intimation of his belief in Anne's guilt. It is, indeed, most probable that he heard little more affecting his unhappy patroness than such slanders and surmises as have been handed down to later times. But upon such slender grounds a wise and good man would not impute flagitious guilt to a bitter enemy, much less to a firm and valued friend.

Slight, however, as appear to have been the suspicions upon which this unfortunate woman was subjected to such rigorous treatment, the King remained steady to his purpose of sacrificing her to his anger and inconstancy. Anne plainly saw the gulph yawning before her, and, as a last expedient, she resolved to try the effect of a forcible appeal to her husband's better feel-

foundation. Henry had no other object than to intimidate, and, by intimidating, to render him ductile to his purpose." The Archbishop's letter may be seen in Bishop Burnet's History; and a candid reader of it will not very readily discover the traces of that timidity with which Dr. Lingard has charged Cranmer upon this occasion. The Primate does not, indeed, flatly deny the truth of accusations which he had not possessed the means of thoroughly sifting; but he says thus much: "I am in such a perplexity, that my mind is clean amazed: for I never had better opinion in woman, than I had in her; *which maketh me to think that she should not be culpable.*" When it is known that, besides this plain language, the Archbishop, after hearing a formal statement of the accusations against the Queen, still declined to profess himself convinced of her guilt, probably most men of sense and candour will think that his conduct, though marked by good sense, evinced none of that timid ductility which Romanists have attributed to it.

ings. A letter has been preserved, said to have been written by her with this view[u]. It breathes

[u] "After which," (Cranmer's letter to the King,) "another letter in her name, but no original, coming to my hand from more than one good part, I thought fit to transcribe it here, without other credit yet than it is said to be found among the papers of Cromwell, then secretary, and for the rest seems ancient and consonant to the matter in question." (Herbert.) This letter is dated May 6. It has been often printed; but as, possibly, some reader of this work may not have seen it, the insertion of it in this place may be excused. The following is a copy of it from Lord Herbert's History. (194.)

"Sir,—Your Grace's displeasure, and my imprisonment, are things so strange unto me, as, what to write, or what to excuse, I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you send unto me, willing me to confess a truth and so obtain your favour, by such an one whom you know to be mine ancient professed enemy, I no sooner received this message by him than I rightly conceived your meaning; and if, as you say, confessing a truth indeed may procure my safety, I shall, with all willingness and duty, perform your command.

"But let not your Grace ever imagine that your poor wife will ever be brought to acknowledge a fault, where not so much as a thought thereof ever preceded. And to speak a truth, never prince had wife more loyal in all duty and in all true affection than you have ever found in Anne Boleyn; with which name and place I could willingly have contented myself, if God, and your Grace's pleasure, had so pleased. Neither did I at any time so far forget myself in my exaltation or received Queenship, but that I always looked for such an alteration as I now find; for the ground of my preferment being on no surer foundation than your Grace's fancy, the least alteration, I know, was fit and sufficient to draw that fancy to some other subject. You have chosen me from a low estate to be your Queen and companion, far beyond my desert or desire. If, then, you found me worthy of such honour, good your Grace, let not any light fancy, or bad

a noble spirit of resignation to her cruel fate, and of firmness in the assertion of her integrity. This

counsel of mine enemies, withdraw your princely favour from me; neither let that stain, that unworthy stain of a disloyal heart towards your good Grace, ever cast so foul a blot upon your most dutiful wife, and the infant princess your daughter. Try me, good King, but let me have a lawful trial, and let not my sworn enemies sit as my accusers and judges; yea, let me receive an open trial, for my truth shall fear no open shames. Then you shall see, either mine innocency cleared, your suspicion and conscience satisfied, the ignominy and slander of the world stopped; or my guilt openly declared. So that, whatsoever God or you may determine of me, your Grace may be freed from an open censure, and mine offence being so lawfully proved, your Grace be at liberty, both before God and man, not only to execute worthy punishment on me as an unfaithful wife, but to follow your affection already settled on that party, for whose sake I am now as I am, whose name I could some good while since have pointed unto, your Grace being not ignorant of my suspicion therein.

"But if you have already determined of me, and that not only my death, but an infamous slander, must bring you the enjoying of your desired happiness; then, I desire of God that he will pardon your great sin therein, and likewise mine enemies the instruments thereof, and that he will not call you to a strict account for your unprincely and cruel usage of me at his general judgment-seat, where both you and myself must shortly appear, and in whose judgment, I doubt not, whatsoever the world may think of me, mine innocence shall be openly known and sufficiently cleared.

"My last and only request shall be, that myself may only bear the burden of your Grace's displeasure, and that it may not touch the innocent souls of those poor gentlemen who, as I understand, are likewise in strait imprisonment for my sake. If ever I have found favour in your sight, if ever the name of Anne Boleyn hath been pleasing in your ears, then let me obtain this request; and I will so leave to trouble your Grace any further with mine ear-

composition is worthy of any pen, and it has been sometimes thought that Anne was hardly equal to the production of such a piece. Since, however, she possessed excellent abilities and great energy of character, distress and danger would be likely to place at her command a vein of eloquence which might have lain dormant during the enervating season of prosperity. But no eloquence would avail to avert, or even to defer her fate. It was at first attempted to be proved that her marriage was from the beginning void, in consequence of a pre-contract with Lord Percy, who, by his father's death, had now become Earl of Northumberland. But that nobleman, in an examination upon oath before the two Archbishops, solemnly averred that there never was any contract or promise of marriage between Anne and himself.

nest prayers to the Trinity to have your Grace in his good keeping, and to direct you in all your actions. From my doleful prison in the Tower. Your most loyal and ever faithful wife,

"ANNE BOLEYN."

"The original, (of Anne's letter,) it is believed, is not remaining now; but the copy of it preserved among Lord Cromwell's papers, together with Sir William Kyngston's letters, is certainly in a hand-writing of the time of Henry VIII.: and Sir William Kyngston's evidence will shew, that Anne was too closely guarded to allow of any one concerting such a letter with her." Ellis's Letters, II. 53.

This letter, indeed, is so strikingly characteristic of the injured lady whose name is subscribed to it, that its genuineness appears highly probable. Nor, admitting that, and taking into consideration Anne's unquestionably religious habits, can it be denied that this interesting epistolary relic furnishes an irresistible presumption in favour of the accused Queen's innocence.

Having given this testimony, he received the Eucharist, of which he prayed that it might conduce to his damnation if he had sworn falsely[x].

On the day before that on which Northumberland's letter is dated, Norris, Weston, Brereton, and Smeton, were brought to trial in Westminster Hall. The last-named miserable person pleaded guilty: the others put themselves upon their defence. Their exertions, however, proved unavailing. They were all three convicted, and, with Smeton, were sentenced to die as traitors[y]. Three days after this, the Queen, with her brother Viscount Rochford, were arraigned before certain members of the House of Lords. The peers, at that time, were in number fifty-three; but only twenty-six, besides the president, composed the court which sate in judgment upon Anne and her brother[z]. This, certainly suspicious, circumstance has given rise to an opinion, that upon this occasion was repeated the disgraceful management employed by Wolsey, when anxious to convict the Duke of Buckingham[a]; and that those noble-

[x] Letter from the Earl of Northumberland to Secretary Cromwell, dated May 13. Herbert, 195.

[y] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 313.

[z] The peers employed upon this occasion were the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the Marquess of Exeter, nine Earls, and fifteen Barons; in all, including the Duke of Norfolk, high steward, twenty-seven. Viscount Rochford was tried before this court, from having been called up to the House of Lords when his father was created Earl of Wiltshire. Ibid.

[a] "Indeed, the minister (Wolsey) had so ordered it, that though all the peers of the realm had a right to assist at the trial,

men whose devotion to the crown was doubtful, were excused or prevented from taking their places at the Queen's trial. Other grounds of suspicion attaching to the judicature which decided upon the charges against Anne, are supplied by the place in which it sat, and by the restricted admission, as it seems, of witnesses to its proceedings. It sat within the Tower; the persons present at the trial appear to have been "the Lord Mayor, with divers aldermen and citizens[h]." Nor can it fail of appearing a most unfavourable circumstance to the accused, that the presiding officer was their own uncle, the Duke of Norfolk, who was constituted Lord High Steward. One might have thought that a sense of decency, at least, would have prevented so near a relation from taking a prominent part in these deplorable proceedings; and that, even if the King had desired the sanction of his presence, it would have been found impossible to wrest from Norfolk a mark of subserviency so disreputable. But whether the Duke was instigated by bigotry, so blind that he could not discern disgrace in any thing likely to restore the influence of Romanism; or whether he was actuated by that hateful spirit of malignant jealousy with which the elder branches of a family sometimes regard the superiority of its

(of the Duke of Buckingham,) there were present only one Duke; one Marquess, seven Earls, and twelve Barons; and, probably, he had secured the majority." (Rapin, I. 748.) The date of this iniquitous precedent is 1521.

[h] Herbert, 195.

junior members; or whether he longed for the downfall of the Boleyns as heads of a political party, recently more powerful than his own; it is evident that, from the directions of such a president, no mercy, perhaps but little semblance even of impartiality, could be anticipated by the prisoners. When the brother and sister came into court, they pleaded not guilty. The Queen discovered such a mixture of modesty and firmness as prepossessed every spectator with an opinion of her innocence. She had no counsel, and, indeed, none to shew any interest in her distressing situation, except a few female attendants. On her entrance, as she was still recognised as Queen, a chair was assigned to her, in which, after courtesying gracefully to the court, she took her seat with an air of cheerfulness and dignity. In her defence, she said but little; enough, however, to render the spectators confident of an acquittal[c].

[c] The particulars of this memorable trial have been chiefly compiled from the relation of a Frenchman named Crispin, who was in London at the time, and whose account, derived from Meteren's History of the Wars of the Low Countries, has been transferred by Bishop Burnet to the third volume of his History. (p. 173.) In this statement are the following words: "Both the magistrates of London, and several others who were there, said they saw no evidence against her; only it appeared that they were resolved to be rid of her." To the same effect Cambden expresses himself in the introduction to his Elizabeth. He says, "Queen Anne cleared herself so far of the matters objected to her, that the multitude that stood by judged her to be innocent, and merely circumvented. Nevertheless, her peers condemned her." To the accounts of the impression made upon the specta-

Upon what grounds these expectations were disappointed, is almost entirely unknown. There is, indeed, reason to believe that some reflections upon her character, in the hand-writing of Lady Wingfield, were produced. That lady had been one of her attendants; but she was now dead, and therefore her testimony, such as it was, admitted neither of proof nor explanation. Smeton also had confessed himself to have been the partner of her guilt; but he was now a convict, and therefore it was not allowable to confront him with her. His evidence, if produced, as probably the record of it was, like that of Lady Wingfield's posthumous accusation, thus ought to have become worthless to her enemies. But these were powerful, and they scrupled not to disregard circumstances which would have saved an ordinary culprit. The Lords pronounced both the prisoners guilty, and Anne was immediately desired

tors by Anne's trial, Dr. Lingard appears able to find no objection, except that the reporters were her friends. His words are these: "On her trial, *according to her friends*, she repelled each charge with so much modesty and temper, such persuasive eloquence and convincing arguments, that every spectator anticipated a verdict of acquittal." Upon this passage it may be allowable to remark, that, as the enemies of Anne were numerous, and as they have left abundant evidence of their malice towards her; the silence with which they seem to have passed over her trial, may be reasonably considered as confirming the truth of the very probable statement left by her friends: a class of persons who were, and who, as far as her memory is concerned, still are, very numerous in England; they comprise, indeed, with the exception of a few Romanists, the whole informed population of the country.

to lay aside the phantom of royal state by which her sufferings had been mocked during the trial. She readily complied, and stood in expectation of her sentence. By this she heard herself doomed to be burnt or beheaded, at the King's pleasure. An overpowering sense of the injustice to which she was subjected then drew from her a passionate appeal to Heaven. Raising her hands, she vehemently exclaimed, "O Father! O Creator! Thou, who art the way, the truth, and the life, thou knowest that I have not deserved this death." Then, turning to her judges, she said, "My Lords, I will not say that your sentence is unjust, nor presume that my opinion ought to be preferred to the judgment of you all. I believe you have reasons, and occasions of suspicion and jealousy, upon which you have condemned me; but they must be other than have been produced here in court: for I am entirely innocent of all these accusations; so that I cannot ask pardon of God for them. I have always been a faithful and loyal wife to the King. I have not, perhaps, at all times, shewn him that humility and reverence which his goodness to me, and the high honour bestowed by him upon me, did deserve. I confess that I have had fancies and suspicions of him, which I had not strength nor discretion enough to manage; but God knows, and is my witness, that I never failed otherwise towards him: and I shall never confess any other at the hour of my death. Do not think that I say this on design to prolong my life: God has taught me to know how

to die, and he will fortify my faith. Do not think that I am so carried in my mind, as not to lay the honour of my chastity to heart. Of this, I should make small account now in my extremity, if I had not maintained it my whole life long, as much as ever Queen did. I know that these my last words will signify nothing, but to justify my honour and my chastity. As for my brother, and those others who are unjustly condemned, I would willingly suffer many deaths to deliver them: but, since I see it so pleases the King, I must bear with their death; and shall depart with them out of the world, under an assurance of leading with them an endless life in peace." Having uttered these words with a serene and dignified countenance, she took a respectful leave of that court which had so effectually sealed its infamy by her condemnation[d].

[d] However skilfully the peers might have been packed upon this occasion, it is difficult to conceive the principle upon which twenty-seven men of rank and intelligence could have persuaded themselves to find the prisoners guilty. The specific charges against Anne, were, that she had committed incest with her brother, and adultery with the four other accused persons, and that she had said to each of these paramours, that she loved him better than any other man, "which was to the slander of the issue begotten between the King and her." (Burnet, I. 313.) Such was the construction which some lawyer's perverted ingenuity had forced upon a clause in the act passed in the last year for the express purpose of protecting this unfortunate woman and her family. It is possible that the same subtlety which had thus interpreted a statute framed for very different purposes, might have laid hold of some indiscreet expression which had been used by Anne, and have persuaded those of her judges who were disposed

Two days after the proceedings in the Tower, Anne's partners in affliction were released by death from their sufferings. Rochford, Norris, Brereton, and Weston, were beheaded on Tower Hill. The Viscount behaved upon this occasion with great firmness and propriety. He first entreated of his fellow-sufferers to meet the fatal stroke without apprehension, and then, turning to the spectators, he thus addressed them: "I am come here to die, since it is the King's pleasure that it should be so; and my untimely end should be a warning to those who hear me, never to build their hopes upon courts, states, or kings, but upon God alone. I do not complain of my violent death. My sins have merited, and more than merited, such a penalty. But I steadily deny that, by any fault of mine, the King has ever been injured. Him, I never offended. Nevertheless, he has my best wishes, and I earnestly pray God to grant him a long and virtuous life." In like manner did the gentlemen who suffered at the same time protest their innocence of the crimes laid to their charge, and thus, with their dying breath, vindicate the honour of the discarded Queen. Smeton, probably on account of his inferior rank, underwent the more ignominious punishment of hanging. When arrived at the fatal tree, he

to waver as to the proof of the infidelities charged upon her, that upon this ground, at all events, she was clearly guilty of treason. It was for treason that she was condemned. Burning was the penalty for that offence, to which females were liable by the ancient law of England.

merely admitted that he had deserved to die: an ambiguous declaration which gave rise to many reflections. Anne heard of it with much disappointment, justly considering that the least reparation which he could have made to her for the great injury of which she had to complain from him, was an explicit avowal of her innocence before he left the world[e]."

Such was the feverish haste with which the

[e] Burnet, Hist. Ref. III. 175. Concerning the extent of Smeton's confession there seems to be some doubt. Collier makes the following remark upon this subject: "Smeton, as Bishop Burnet relates, confessed the fact. But the Lord Herbert's silence in this matter seems to import him of a different opinion." That the poor musician's confession was not perfectly satisfactory to those who sought for evidence against Anne, may be reasonably inferred from his execution. Crispin, the French writer cited by Burnet, thus accounts for his case: "He, as was believed, was prevailed on to accuse her: yet he was condemned contrary to the promise that had been made to him; but it was pretended that his crime was, that he had told his suspicions to others, and not to the King." The following are the words of Heylin: "There was no want of any artifices in sifting, canvassing, and entangling, not only the prisoners themselves, but all such witnesses of either sex as were thought fit to be examined by the King's commissioners; from none of which they were able to get any thing by all their arts which might give any ground for her conviction; but that Mark Smeton had been wrought on to make some confession of himself to her dishonour, out of a vain hope to save his own life by the loss of hers. Concerning which, Cromwell thus writes unto the King, after the prisoners had been thoroughly examined in the Tower by the Lords of the council. *Many things have been objected, but nothing confessed; only some circumstances have been acknowledged by Mark.*" (Hist. Ref. 264.) From this declaration it must appear probable, that no tangible evidence of adultery was produced against this injured woman.

persecution of Anne Boleyn was hurried to its consummation, that, on the very day in which her brother and the other victims met their fate, she was harassed by the trying of a suit to nullify her marriage. The former attempt to accomplish this object having been foiled through the firmness of Lord Northumberland, the evidence required was now sought from Anne herself. She, depressed by the torrent of injustice which had been turned against her; still, perhaps, clinging to the hope of life, or, at least, anxious to avoid that more painful death which might have been legally inflicted upon her; eager for her infant's sake to conciliate the King; and aware that the act required of her would be a virtual acquittal of the more important charges on which she had been arraigned, refused not to make the desired admission. His duty as metropolitan imposed upon Cranmer the distressing task of passing judgment in this melancholy case. A court of judicature was assembled, on the 17th of May, in his house at Lambeth; but so private was the transaction, that it escaped the general notice[f]. The Lord Chancellor Audley, the Duke of Suffolk, the Earls of Oxford and Sussex, the Lord Sandys, the Secretary Cromwell, and others of the privy council, attended to assist the Archbishop upon this occasion. Before these distinguished persons, the King and Queen were cited to appear. They sent their proctors; and Dr. Wootton, who

[f] Burnet, Hist. Ref. III. 176.

attended on Anne's part, confessed in her name certain true and lawful impediments to her marriage. The nature of these impediments is left wholly to conjecture[g]. The judgment passed

[g] The following note is appended to Dr. Lingard's account of this transaction: "I am inclined to believe, that the real ground of divorce pronounced by Cranmer, was Henry's previous cohabitation with Mary Boleyn: that this was admitted on both sides, and that, in consequence, the marriage with Anne, the sister of Mary, was judged invalid." This view of the case is derived from contemporary Romanists; but these writers have published such gross and improbable libels respecting the Boleyns, that their testimony or opinions of that family are of little or no value. The instrument annulling Anne's marriage is printed in the Concil. Magn. Brit. of Wilkins. From this it appears that the impediments to the validity of the disputed marriage were confessed, *(confessata.)* But it seems hardly consonant to reason, that a solemn judgment should be pronounced upon such slight grounds, as that one person had *confessed* the acts of another. Mary Boleyn was never the King's wife; that she was his concubine need not be believed until it is attested by better authorities than Pole and Sanders. But even admitting that to have been the truth, it is neither evident how the fact that a man, having become "one flesh" with a mistress, should incapacitate him by the Divine law from marrying the sister of that mistress, nor how the said sister can be correctly said to confess a fact of which she could have no certain knowledge. That Cranmer's judgment was not lightly given, we are bound to believe, not only from the character of the man, but also from the language of his sentence, as printed by Wilkins. It contains the following words: "Idcirco, nos, Thomas Archiep. &c. antedictus, *Christi nomine primitus invocato, ac ipsum solum Deum præ oculis nostris habentes, rimato per nos toto et integro processu*—pronuntiamus, &c." It is not to be supposed that such a man would allow these words to be used as a mere matter of course in such a cause. The more probable conjecture as to the grounds of the sentence

still remains on record; but that document omits to specify the grounds on which the decision was founded; and the deficiency has not been supplied by any unconcerned spectator. Indeed, the business of the day appears to have been conducted with so much privacy, that, probably, few mere observers were in court. However, it is certain that the case allowed no discretion to the judge. He sat merely to enquire whether some existing law had been transgressed. The party charged with the transgression confessed the fact, and therefore sentence must necessarily have been pronounced according to the complainant's prayer. With and under the advice of persons learned in the law[h], the Archbishop accordingly declared

of nullity, is that which Bishop Burnet has hazarded, viz. that Anne admitted herself to have formed an engagement with either the Duke of Northumberland, or some other suitor, before she had accepted the King's hand. It appears that, among her indiscretions, she had been heard to say of Henry, "He never had my heart." After such an admission, one so racked with anxiety as she was, would find little difficulty in persuading herself that her most unhappy marriage was such as the laws of God would not sanction.

[h] "De et cum consilio jurisperitorum cum quibus communicavimus in hac parte." (Wilkins.) It is plain that, however painful this duty might be to Cranmer, he could not do otherwise than he did. His duty was merely judicial, the matters charged were admitted, the law of the case was laid down by competent authorities, (or at least by such as were so esteemed,) and therefore the Archbishop, having sufficiently examined what was submitted to him, was compelled to pronounce the desired sentence. Dr. Lingard, however, seems unwilling to allow that the primate's conduct was thus constrained. He does, indeed, go so far as to

that the marriage between the two parties to the suit was null and void from the first.

Henry was now legally at liberty to indulge his caprice, by marrying the lady to whom he had transferred his affections. But his heart appears to have been not even yet mollified, and nothing would satisfy him before he had glutted his vengeance with the blood of her for whom he had conceived a disgust so violent. The third day after the proceedings at Lambeth, was accordingly fixed for Anne's execution. She prepared herself for that awful event by instituting on the day before it a rigid scrutiny into her past life. Among the painful circumstances, which by this means were called to her recollection, she felt reason to regret a degree of harshness with which she had sometimes treated the Lady Mary. In order to satisfy her mind upon this subject, she desired Lady Kingston to sit down in the chair of state, which stood in the apartment; and then, kneeling before her, Anne expressed, with many tears, her grief for the vexations that she had inflicted upon the Princess. Her mind being thus disburdened, she extorted a promise from the lieutenant's lady thus to kneel before the Princess, and to implore the forgiveness of such offences as might have been given to her by her unhappy

say, that when he was required to dissolve the marriage, he must have felt himself employed about "a most unwelcome and painful task." But then we are afterwards told, "He acceded to the proposal with all the zeal of a proselyte." For the truth of this statement no voucher is adduced.

step-mother. In the evening of the same day she sent her last message to the King. In this she acknowledged the obligations that he had conferred upon her. From a private station, she said, he had advanced her to a marquessate, thence to a throne; and, as no farther object of earthly ambition remained, he had now determined upon making her a saint in heaven. She then solemnly protested her innocence, and recommended their common daughter to his kind protection.

After this act, she felt that all her worldly cares were over, and became impatient for the closing scene of life. On the morning of the fatal day, she had expected an early summons to the scaffold; and she expressed a feeling of disappointment when informed by Kingston, the lieutenant of the Tower, that the execution was not to take place before mid-day. "I had thought," she said, "to have been dead before that time, and past my pain." "Madam," he replied, "you will find it no pain." To this she assented, and rejoined: "The executioner, I hear, is very expert, and my neck is very small:" on which she spanned it with her hands, and laughed heartily. Kingston was astonished to see such a flow of spirits in one who was upon the verge of eternity. He had witnessed, he said, the behaviour of many persons of both sexes when upon the point of being led to execution, and it was marked by deep dejection; whereas this lady met her death with alacrity and exultation. Her firm and cheerful demeanour

appears to have occasioned some uneasiness to those in power. They doubted not that it would continue to the last, and therefore shrank from the experiment of exposing to the general gaze of men the last injustice that Anne was doomed to suffer. Hence the scaffold was erected within the Tower; all strangers were carefully excluded before the sufferer was led from her prison[1], and none were admitted to behold the violent death of this injured woman but certain official persons and their friends. Of these, however, the assemblage was rather numerous. Anne made her appearance in their sight something before noon. Her looks were cheerful, and the beauty of her person was never seen to greater advantage. Such a spectacle overpowered the feelings of those around her. She, however, checked the violence of their emotions by mildly saying, "Be not sorry to see me die thus; but pardon me from your hearts for having often omitted to use the gentleness that became me, and to do all the good that lay in my power." She then addressed the spectators in general to the following effect: "Good Christian people, I am come hither to die, according to the law, and therefore I say nothing against my fate. I am come hither to accuse no man, nor to speak any thing of that whereof I myself have been accused, and for which I have been condemned to lose my life. I pray God save

[1] Letter of Sir William Kingston, printed by Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 317.

the King, and send him long to reign over you; for a gentler and more merciful prince was there never. To me he was ever a gracious sovereign, a good and gentle lord. As to my case, if any man will meddle with it, I require him to regard it in a favourable light. With these words I take my leave of the world, and of you all: only adding, that I heartily desire your prayers[k]." Having uttered these words, she remained for a brief interval engaged at her devotions. Then, without manifesting the least apprehension, she prepared, with the assistance of her attendants, for the fatal stroke. Her neck being bared, she calmly laid it on the block; at the same time saying, "To Christ I commend my soul[l]." After this the executioner, by a single effort, struck off her head from the body with a sword[m]. Even her remains were treated with indignity. The headless trunk was cast into an elmen chest, made to contain arrows, and immediately interred in the Tower chapel.

Thus perished, in the thirtieth year of her age, a woman who had experienced the vicissitudes of fortune more fully than any one of her sex hitherto recorded in English history. With the exception of Elizabeth Woodville, Edward the Fourth's queen, she was the only female, not of

[k] Herbert, 195.

[l] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 318.

[m] "Carnifex qui ad id Caleto accersitus fuerat, gladio cervicem penetravit, cum moris sit nostri, securi capite mulctandos non gladio ferire." Godwin, Annal. 58.

princely blood whom any of our monarchs, since the Conquest, had raised to share his throne. The elevation of Elizabeth had been embittered by the murder of her children, and by the mortifying neglect in which her son-in-law, Henry VII. doomed her to wear away her latter years [n]. The once dazzling prosperity of Anne Boleyn was eventually obscured by far blacker clouds. Posthumous justice has, however, been amply rendered to the memory of this unhappy queen. At the outset of the Reformation she bore a prominent and an honourable part. Her character has hence been warmly canvassed by those who have considered the religious changes of her age, both as friends and foes. Nor have the former discovered any reason to regret that their principles were first boldly advocated in England under the auspices of such a patroness: nor have the latter been enabled to excuse their hatred of her name by any other charges than such as evidently spring from inventive malice. The mention of Anne Boleyn is indeed but rarely made without recalling to the mind of an Englishman the idea of a crying injustice that once disgraced his country. Yet time has shed, during many generations, his mellowing influence over this transaction. If, therefore, party madness had rendered one half of her contemporaries wilfully blind to her guilt; yet the truth must have been recorded by the

[n] She was confined in the nunnery of Bermondsey during several years previously to her death.

other half, who felt the keenest interest in exposing it; and if their statements had deserved the notice of posterity, the period suited for their unqualified admission would have long ere this arrived. Instead of this, however, it has happened, that every attempt to blast Anne's character, has only tended to confirm the general belief in her integrity. There is reason to believe, that even her infatuated persecutor did not leave the world before he had done justice to her memory. The near approach of death is said to have wrung from him a confession of the misery which he felt in reflecting upon his treatment of Anne[o]. But whatever may be the credit due to this relation, it is evident that Henry no sooner consummated his injustice, than by his own act it stood rebuked. On the third day after the melancholy catastrophe, he married the new object of his affections[p]. By this indecency he plainly convicted himself of a culpable deficiency in the better feelings of humanity, and forced an irresistible conviction upon the minds of all reasonable men, that the facility with which he had tortured light suspicions into damning proofs of guilt, originated in the transfer

[o] Thevet, a Franciscan friar, who published a Cosmography in 1563, declares in that work, that several English gentlemen had informed him of the grief which Henry expressed for his treatment of Anne Boleyn, when he was at the point of death. It is, however, proper to remark, that Thevet's authority is spoken of very contemptuously by Thuanus. Note to Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 319.

[p] Foxe.

of his love to one whose fascinations had rendered him weary of his wife. The suspicious precipitancy too with which Anne was hurried to her fate, affords a strong presumption of her innocence. The King allowed himself no time for calm reflection on the circumstances which had raised the storm of rage and jealousy within him. His law officers were not permitted to sift with slow and cautious diligence the tissue of facts unexplained, or vague surmises, submitted to their consideration. On the first of May the victims, careless of to-morrow, were enjoying the passing hour amidst gaiety and splendour: on the nineteenth of the same month, that one of them whose sufferings terminated last, followed the partners of her misery to an unhonoured tomb[q]. Foreign nations heard with indignation and astonishment of this headlong cruelty. The German Protestants abandoned the idea of sending an embassy to England[r]; and the King's character, in most men's estimation, contracted a stain which never was effaced.

The next object of Henry's caprice was his daughter Elizabeth, who, as the fruit of a marriage pronounced unlawful, was now considered illegitimate, and no longer called Princess of

[q] "Nam hujus Maji primo delata (Anna) videtur, in crastino incarcerata, 15. damnata, 17. fratre et amicis orbata, ac 19. obtruncata." (Godwin, Annal. 59.) The incidents mentioned in this brief account appear to follow each other with sufficient rapidity: yet the annulling of Anne's marriage is omitted.

[r] Godwin, Annal. 58.

Wales; a designation which had been absurdly bestowed upon her[s]. Indeed her political importance appeared to be gone, and therefore the elder Princess, Mary, reasonably judged that an opportunity had arrived favourable for a reconciliation between her parent and herself. She was perhaps sufficiently weary of the protracted opposition which she had given to Henry's proceedings. She had provoked him in the highest degree, and had not Cranmer interposed his good offices in her behalf, she would have been long since committed prisoner to the Tower[t]. However, after Anne's violent death, she was inclined to believe that her father might not insist upon any very grating submission from her; and she was, at all events, anxious to make the experiment, because thoughts were then entertained of marrying her to the Duke of Orleans, second son to the King of France[u]. She accordingly wrote to court in a very submissive strain, and respectfully solicited for permission to appear again in the royal presence. As Henry was meditating upon his daughter's marriage, he was probably sufficiently well pleased with her application, but he would not consent to receive her unconditionally. He therefore sent the Duke of Norfolk to her, for the purpose of obtaining her signature to

[s] The Lady Mary had also been called Princess of Wales during her mother's ascendancy, and had been degraded from that title on Catharine's divorce.

[t] Heylin, Hist. Ref. 180.

[u] Strype, Eccl. Mem. I. 440.

a paper comprizing seven articles. These were found by the Princess to be somewhat "hard of digestion." They required her to recognise unconditionally the King's sovereignty; to obey and maintain the laws; to admit the royal supremacy, and to renounce that of the Pope; to acknowledge that her mother's second marriage was incestuous and unlawful; to confess herself "illegitimate and a bastard;" to name those who had been her advisers during her protracted obstinacy; and to explain why she had chosen that time in particular for making advances towards a reconcillation with her father[x]. To this unqualified surrender of her religious principles and hereditary rank, Mary naturally felt great difficulty in making up her mind: she therefore wrote to Cromwell, for the purpose of obtaining, by his interference, some relaxation in the severity of these conditions. But Henry was not to be diverted materially from his purpose; and the Princess becoming sensible that she had little hope of emerging from her depressed and precarious condition, unless by assenting pretty completely to

[x] Strype, Appendix, I. 268. Neither Herbert nor Heylin mentions the clause in which the Princess was required to acknowledge her illegitimacy; but as Strype assures us that he transcribed the articles of submission from one of Lord Burghley's MSS. and as the Lady Mary is proved to have signed such an acknowledgment by a paper to that effect, of which a transcript was, according to the author before mentioned, in the Cotton library; there is little or no reason to doubt, that the articles, of which the heads are inserted in the text, were submitted to her at this time.

the propositions transmitted to her, at length consented to gratify her father. She acknowledged unreservedly his civil and ecclesiastical prerogatives, the validity of the recent statutes, and the unlawfulness of her mother's second marriage [y]. However, she honourably declined to expose her advisers to the King's resentment, by revealing their names; and it appears that her father neither insisted upon this breach of trust, nor upon her stigmatising herself by any opprobrious appellation; as an establishment suited to her rank was assigned to her shortly afterwards. For the maintenance of this, an annual pension of three thousand pounds was allowed [z]; and such was the difference between the expenditure of those times, and that of our own age, that forty pounds a quarter were deemed sufficient to supply her private expences. It is true, that this allowance appears to have been sufficiently close; for when the festivities of Christmas alarmed her with the apprehension of some extraordinary demands upon her purse, she was obliged to write to Cromwell for his good offices with the King, to obtain for her such an addition to that quarter's payment as would enable her, without inconvenience, to partake in the amusements of the season [a].

[y] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 323.

[z] At the same time it was agreed, that, in case of her marriage, she should have a portion of ten thousand pounds. Heylin, Hist. Ref. 182.

[a] Burnet, Hist. Ref.

As soon as the news of Queen Anne's imprisonment reached Rome, the Pope conceived fresh hopes of regaining his ascendancy over England. He accordingly sent for Sir Gregory Casali, and requested him to sound the King with regard to his dispositions towards the Papacy. The Pontiff expressed himself much gratified to learn that Henry was likely to be released from his unsuitable matrimonial connection, and was thus again in a situation to renew with honour his friendly intercourse with the papal court, and to hold the dignified attitude of a mediator between Charles and Francis. As for himself, Paul declared, that he had ever entertained the most cordial sentiments towards the English monarch, as had plainly appeared during the last pontificate, when he had advised Clement to grant the divorce from Catharine; and when, at Bologna, he had laboured to extort from the Emperor an acquiescence in the repudiation of his aunt: that he had promoted Fisher to the cardinalate, merely with a view of giving additional weight to a prelate whose able assistance he had calculated upon securing for the approaching general council; and that, when the new cardinal's violent death disappointed that reasonable expectation, he was driven by necessity to make a demonstration of severity which he never intended to carry into effect. He concluded this specimen of Italian finesse by saying, that he should shortly send a nuntio to England, for the purpose of reconciling that kingdom to the Roman see; which object,

when effected, might be followed by negociations for the pacification of Christendom, for the assembling of a general council, and for an effective armament against the Turkish infidels[b]. This medley of flimsy apologies, hollow compliments, and evasive promises, Casali was desired to transmit to England as a statement of the Pontiff's sentiments, in which he had good reason to confide, not as a direct overture from Paul himself. In order to promote the success of this circuitous communication, Marc Antony Campeggio was soon after sent to the English court, under colour of soliciting for his brother, the Cardinal, the restoration of the bishopric of Salisbury, and the care of English interests, at the expected general council. Campeggio's real business in our island was, however, to effect, if possible, a reconciliation between Henry and the Pope. But happily the breach between these two potentates could not be healed by any degree of diplomatic skill, as the Italian agent became convinced soon after his arrival in England; and he returned to Rome with the mortifying intelligence of having completely failed in his negociations of every kind. This intelligence so thoroughly disgusted the Pope, that he immediately renewed his intrigues to embroil Henry with the neighbouring powers. He represented him as an obstinate heretic, for whose chastisement all Christian princes were

[b] Herbert, 196. From an original letter of Casali, dated May 27.

concerned to take up arms. That the Emperor might be induced to second his views, he made arrangements for the assembling of a general council; an object which Charles had long been anxious to see carried into effect. In order to flatter Henry's northern neighbour, and to give him a hint sufficiently intelligible, the self-called vicar of the Prince of Peace sent to the Scottish King a splendid consecrated sword. Paul likewise endeavoured to engage the co-operation of Francis; but policy rendered that monarch adverse to his views. The Cardinal of Lorraine even went so far as to express his disapprobation of the Pope's fulminations. He told the papal agents, that the assertion of a power to absolve subjects from their allegiance, would have no other effect than to render the Roman see a laughing-stock to the whole world [c].

While the Pope's emissaries were employed in endeavouring to organize confederacies against Henry among foreign states, his own subjects, by their unlimited submission to his will, effectually prevented every prince of ordinary sagacity from conceiving that he could, with any reasonable hope of success, attack England. The Parliament, which had gratified the King in so many important particulars, after sitting the unusual period of six years, had been dissolved on the fourteenth of the last April. The alterations which had taken place in his domestic affairs, in conse-

[c] Herbert, 196.

quence of the late catastrophe, rendered Henry desirous of again assembling round the throne the great council of the nation[d]. Accordingly writs were issued for the formation of a new Parliament, and that important body met for the despatch of business on the eighth of June. A speech was delivered upon this occasion by the Lord Chancellor Audley; and it has rarely fallen to the lot of a distinguished public officer to utter greater absurdities than those which were addressed at this time to the two Houses. They were informed, that the King's objects in assembling them so soon after the late dissolution, were principally to settle the succession to the crown, in case of his Majesty's demise, without leaving lawful heirs of his own body; and to repeal the act, passed by the former Parliament, for the benefit of Anne Boleyn's offspring. They were desired to reflect upon the great troubles and vexations in which the King had been involved by his

[d] "If full forty days be necessary for a summons, then the writs must have been issued forth the day before the late Queen's disgrace; so that it was designed before the justs at Greenwich, and did not flow from any thing that then appeared." (Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 325.) The haste with which the calling of a new Parliament followed Anne's disgrace, is certainly a suspicious circumstance; but it seems hardly just to charge the King with the prodigious baseness of merely acting a part at Greenwich, as a pretence for his cruelty, without very conclusive evidence. It is perhaps more fair to suppose, that if forty days be necessary for a summons on ordinary occasions, the imagined urgency of the case was allowed to set aside that rule in this particular instance.

first unlawful marriage, and upon the dangers which he had incurred by means of his second; considerations, it was said, enough to frighten men in general from entering a third time into wedlock. They were however informed, that Anne and her conspirators being put to death, as they well deserved, his Majesty, at the humble request of the nobility, and not from any carnal concupiscence, had again been pleased to marry; and that, from his new Queen, there were reasonable hopes of issue; but as this prospect might possibly not be realized, they were recommended to provide an heir by the King's direction, who might rule over them, in the event of his death without lawful issue[e]. From all this it appears, that the Parliament was not only expected to approve all Henry's cruel proceedings, but also to confer upon him the power of bequeathing the crown to one of those daughters, whom he had treated as illegitimate; in case his new marriage should prove unfruitful[f]. Unreasonable as were such expectations, the collision of parties had thrown into the hands of this monarch a degree of influence so unusual, that his ministers were enabled to obtain for all his whims and desires the sanction of law. An act, accordingly, was

[e] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 325.

[f] Henry might also have an eye, in procuring this privilege, towards his natural son, the Duke of Richmond, a young man of whom he was excessively fond. However, if such were his view, it was soon disappointed, as the Duke died on the 22d of July, to his father's great grief. Godwin, Annal. 59.

passed, limiting the succession to the crown to the issue of the King's marriage with Jane Seymour, or any future queen. In the preamble to this statute, it is declared, that his Majesty's former marriages were null and void; the first so, because founded upon a dispensation granted in a case above the reach of human authority; the second so, because a sufficient impediment to its validity had been confessed by the Lady Anne before the Archbishop of Canterbury. The Legislature also pronounced the issue of both marriages to be illegitimate; and the more effectually to prevent people from troubling their heads with attempts to reconcile the strange inconsistencies recently introduced into the statute-book, it was enacted, that the penalty of high treason should be incurred by such as should believe either the marriage of his Highness with the Lady Catharine, or that with the Lady Anne, to be good; and did call the Lady Mary, or the Lady Elizabeth, legitimate. A more reasonable enactment absolutely prohibited all marriages contracted within the forbidden degrees as ascertainable by God's law; and authorised the ecclesiastical courts to dissolve such marriages, in spite of any papal dispensation. By another statute, the King was empowered by his letters patent, or by his last will, to advance any person or persons of his most royal blood to any title, and to confer upon such individual any castles, honours, or lands. What was the intention of Henry in procuring this dangerous privilege, it is difficult to imagine,

unless it be supposed that he had conceived an idea of dismembering his kingdom by the foundation of petty principalities as a provision for the younger or bastardised branches of his family. By another act of this Parliament, all bulls and dispensations from the bishop, or see of Rome, are pronounced of no effect in England; nevertheless, all marriages solemnized before the third of November, in the twenty-sixth year of the King's reign, and not contrary to God's laws, were to be good and effectual. Also an authority was conferred upon the Archbishops of Canterbury to grant in future such privileges as are allowable by law, but such as had been formerly enjoyed by means of papal dispensations. Another statute enforced and regulated the residence of the clergy. Another imposed upon all officers, ecclesiastical and civil, the necessity of taking an oath to renounce the Bishop of Rome, and his usurped authority [s]. Nor can any government be blamed for refusing to commit a public trust into the hands of those, who feel bound by deference towards a power not only alien, but also one which has repeatedly exercised the pretended right of dispensing with moral obligations. Upon the whole, the friends of true religion must have derived considerable satisfaction from some of the acts passed at this time in Parliament. By these all remains of the papal authority were obliterated in England: the exemptions and immu-

[s] Herbert, 201.

nities attached to several monastic establishments were overthrown; and every abbot, however powerful, found himself completely subjected to the government of his country. But no such credit can be claimed for the political conduct of the legislators. Not only was their slavish approval of all the King's inconsistencies and cruelties very little to their honour, but also some of the powers which they conferred upon the crown were such as it was their obvious duty to withhold. The royal prerogatives were indeed rendered enormous and dangerous; nor is it easy to account for this unlimited subserviency in the Legislature, unless from the divided state of the nation as to religion. In this matter neither party felt assured of the King's co-operation, and therefore each of them was eager to gratify all his wishes, in the hope that he would be thus induced to declare himself unequivocally on their side, and enable them to crush the principles of their opponents.

On the day after the meeting of Parliament, Cranmer repaired to St. Paul's for the purpose of opening the Convocation. He was no longer allowed to preside in that assembly. Dr. Petre appeared on behalf of Cromwell, now created a Baron, and appointed Lord Privy Seal; and in his name, as Vicar-general, demanded to be allowed a rank above that of any ecclesiastic present. The Archbishop placed Petre on his side [h],

[h] "Juxta se." Strype, Eccl. Mem. I. 379.

and after hearing a sermon from Bishop Latimer, the Convocation proceeded to the despatch of business. In the course of a few days, Lord Cromwell, finding himself sufficiently at leisure from his parliamentary duties to enter upon those which had devolved upon him as supreme ordinary of the Church, came to the House of Convocation, and assumed the rank belonging to his office[1]. He brought with him the record of the late unfortunate Queen's divorce, and moved that the ecclesiastical estate should now sanction that proceeding. This motion met with no opposition from either of the parties in the two Houses. Thus the invalidity of Henry's marriage with Anne was formally admitted by the clergy. This the Romish party must have viewed as a triumph over their opponents, and they seem to have thought the time favourable for a trial of their strength. Accordingly Gwent, Archdeacon of London, the prolocutor, presented to the Upper House a long list of opinions then current among the people, and highly offensive to zealous Ro-

[1] "Deformi satis spectaculo, indocto laico cœtui præsidente sacratorum Antistitum, omnium quos ante hæc tempora Anglia unquam habuisset doctissimorum." (Godwin, Annal. 59.) If, however, this Right Reverend author had given himself time to recollect that Cromwell, as Dr. Petre declared, claimed precedence merely as the King's representative, he might not have considered the novelty of this Convocation as *an ugly sight*, but rather as a satisfactory proof that the encroachments of a foreign power upon the English constitution were at length brought to a close.

manists. Among these pernicious doctrines, as they were styled, are some articles justly exceptionable; but the bulk of them are nothing more than satirical, and rather coarse attacks upon the unscriptural tenets and usages of Popery. From them we find, that some fanatics denied to the priesthood the exclusive privilege of ministering in sacred things; that such persons taught the exclusion of rich men from the grace of God, and from a saving acquaintance with his word; that they maintained the inutility of setting apart edifices for religious uses, and the common right of all mankind to temporal goods. Few men of sense will deny, that complaints against doctrines like these, which tend to unhinge the frame of society, are well founded; but to the majority of the obnoxious tenets, Protestants will see no objection. Thus it was inculcated, that to see the consecration of the wafer, at mass, was needless; that extreme unction is no sacrament; that confession was invented to obtain a knowledge of men's thoughts, and to pull the money out of their pockets, and that it had brought forth innumerable vices; that the saints have no more power to help us, than a man's wife has to help her husband, and that it is no more profitable to invoke them, than to hurl a stone against the wind; that Our Lady was a sinful woman, who might be compared, after Christ's birth, to a bag which had contained valuable spices; that hallowed oil was the Bishop of Rome's grease, or butter; holy water,

juggled water, fit for making a sauce, or for applying to the sore back of a horse[k]; that the clerical tonsure was the mark of the whore of Babylon; that the stole about a priest's neck is the Bishop of Rome's rope. To these jocular observations upon the pernicious absurdities of Romanism, were added serious attacks upon the doctrinal innovations of that sect. Monachism was declared to be contrary to the Gospel, purgatory to exist only in imagination, penance to be vain, pilgrimages unprofitable, abstinence from meats wholly immaterial, clerical celibacy unnecessary, and all these to be merely human inventions not binding upon the conscience.

This enumeration of opinions, galling to Romish prejudices, was closed by three articles, which make an indirect, but sufficiently intelligible attack upon Cranmer and the new bishops. The complainants asserted, that, besides the divisions introduced into the Church by seditious preaching, "slanderous and erroneous books" were allowed to be circulated, and people suffered to believe that such publications had the King's sanction; that these obnoxious tracts had formerly been examined by select members of the Convocation, and found full of erroneous doctrines; but that

[k] Perhaps the whole of this article is worth the trouble of extracting. "63. Item, that the holy water is more savoury to make a sauce with than the other, because it is mixt with salt; which is also a very good medicine for an horse with a gall'd back: yea, if there be put an onyon thereunto, it is a good sauce for a gigget (joint) of mutton." Fuller, 208.

the Bishops having omitted to condemn them, they remained in the hands of the ignorant, and supplied specious arguments for the disturbing of the general tranquillity; also, that "apostates, abjured persons, and of notable ill conversation, and infamed, have, without licence of the King's Grace, or of the ordinary, taken upon them to preach slanderously[1]." In these last complaints, there is evidently an attempt to fix a charge of culpable connivance upon some members of the episcopal order. Indeed, the time appeared eminently auspicious for the hazarding of such an attack, when the Romanists were exulting over the violent death of her to whose influence they attributed the eclipse of their power, and when the Reformers seemed willing to abandon her cause in hopeless despair. But upon whatever grounds the Popish party might have felt inclined at this time to build their hopes, these were completely disappointed. Cromwell came down to the House with a message from the King, enjoining, that the national religion should be reformed by a careful consideration of Scripture, and that every thing which could not be supported by that authority, should be abolished; since it was absurd that, Holy Writ being the acknowledged fountain of religious knowledge, theological questions should be decided merely from the inferences of interpreters, or the decrees of Popes. Than this position nothing is more plainly consonant to the

[1] Fuller, 208.

dictates of reason; but it strikes at the root of Romish tenets, and therefore those members of Convocation who clung to the prejudices in which they had been bred, prepared to contend against the unqualified admission of the principles now recommended from the throne. As, however, the Archbishop had probably advised his sovereign to deliver sentiments so worthy of a Christian prince, as certainly he cordially approved these sentiments, he laboured strenuously to enforce his own conviction upon the clergy of his province. Being naturally modest, and now anxious to avail himself of every aid in the difficult enterprize which he had undertaken, he was the means of introducing to the Convocation a learned Scot named Alesse, then residing under his hospitable roof at Lambeth. This justly respected scholar accompanied the Vicar-general in one of his visits to the assembly of divines, and by that officer's command he delivered a speech, intended to prove that Baptism and the Lord's Supper are the only sacraments instituted by Jesus Christ. To this bold attack upon opinions long received in the Roman Church, Bishop Stokesley undertook to reply. He spoke at considerable length; but his arguments were little likely to influence the reforming party, as they were chiefly founded upon school divinity and the canon law. He was, however, warmly supported by many of his own persuasion. On the other side, Cranmer, with great learning and earnestness, maintained the sufficiency of Scripture

for the decision of religious controversies, and painted the uncertainty in which the best interests of men were liable to be involved if tradition be allowed to direct them. He then proceeded to explain the use of the Sacraments, and to point out the corruptions which, chiefly by the instrumentality of the monastic orders, had debased the purity of the Christian doctrine. Bishop Fox, who had recently returned from his mission to the German Protestants, seconded the Primate's arguments. He assured the Convocation, that the days in which an ignorant or artful priesthood could conceal the truth from men, were now at an end; that Scripture was become generally accessible; that many persons, not contented with the versions of others, were studying the Bible in its original languages; and that, therefore, it was a vain imagination to suppose the present age liable to be misled by those seductive artifices which had hitherto derived their influence over the popular mind from the gross ignorance at one time almost universally prevalent[m].

These arguments, however, produced no conviction in the minds of the Romish party, and the Convocation continued to exhibit a picture of ceaseless contention. Still the Primate was not discouraged; nor did he intermit his exertions until, with the aid of the royal influence, he had persuaded the assembled divines to sanction doc-

[m] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 332.

trines such as had been long withholden from the English people. The reformation of our religion must be dated from this time; as the national church now publicly renounced the principles by which Romanism has most palpably departed from the declarations of Scripture. The Catholic faith was not, indeed, restored completely to its purity; but as much was accomplished as could be reasonably expected at the outset of an attempt to shake off inveterate errors and abuses. A debased and pernicious system of belief had so long, like a baleful mist, darkened the religious horizon of Europe, that the eyes of men were scarcely able to endure at once the bright effulgence of Divine truth. Even the Primate, laborious and enlightened as he was, had not yet attained to the full knowledge of the Christian faith. Still less was the King prepared to surrender at discretion all those prejudices amidst which his youth had been nurtured, and in defence of which his adult age had been said to have gained so much merited applause. Cranmer, therefore, in framing articles for the purpose of being submitted to the Convocation, was concerned to execute his task in such a manner as to afford satisfaction in the highest quarter, and he necessarily did not, in what he prepared for others, outrun his own conviction. In fact, he produced a system of belief which may be designated as Lutheran; for such, with perhaps rather a greater leaning towards Romish usages than the German Protestants would have been likely to approve, are the arti-

cles now sanctioned by the Convocation, and subsequently by the King[n].

Of these articles, the first declares, that the particulars of the Christian faith are contained in the Scriptures, and briefly enumerated in the Apostles', the Nicene, and the Athanasian Creeds: all doctrines at variance with those derivable from these sources, are denounced as heretical, especially such as were condemned in the first four general councils, viz. those of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon.

II. It was taught, that Baptism is a sacrament instituted by Christ, "as a thing necessary for the attaining of everlasting life;" on which account infants and idiots are not to be excluded from it, since, by its means, they are washed from the pollution of original sin; that the Pelagian and Anabaptist opinions respecting this Sacrament are heretical; that adults, or young persons, having the use of reason, and desiring to be baptized, must come prepared with penitence and faith, or

[n] "These articles, as I gather out of our records, were devised by the King himself, and recommended afterwards to the Convocation House by Cromwell." (Herbert, 202.) However, Strype (Mem. Cranm. 57.) says, "we have reason to attribute a great share therein (in the book of articles) to the Archbishop." This indefatigable author does not mention his reason, but, independently of Cranmer's influence and industry, his Lutheran bias and connexions evidently point him out as the principal compiler of the articles. He, probably, submitted his draught to the King before its public appearance; but there can be no doubt, from the character of the matter, that it was compiled chiefly by himself.

they will miss the benefits of this Sacrament; and that such as come to the water of Baptism duly prepared, are "newly regenerated, and made the very children of God [o]."

III. It was asserted that penance is a sacrament of Divine institution, and necessary for the attainment of salvation [p]; that it consists of three parts —contrition, confession, and amendment of life [q];

[o] This article appears to have been taken from the Confession of Augsburg; in which occur the following words: "De Baptismo docent, quod necessarius sit ad salutem, tanquam cerimonia a Christo instituta—et quod, infantes sint baptizandi: et quod, infantes per baptismum Deo commendati, recipiantur in gratiam Dei, et fiant filii Dei.—Damnant Anabaptistas." (Syllog. Confess. 134.) The article as agreed to by the English divines is rather longer than that presented at Augsburg; but the two closely correspond with each other; and the latter is evidently derived from the former, only it is expressed in a more diffuse and explanatory form.

[p] This article has been compiled from two in the Confession of Augsburg, viz. from the 11th and from one of the supplementary articles, that *De Confessione*. Perhaps this arrangement might have been adopted in order to consult the King's prejudices, inasmuch as the whole matter is thus made to assume something of a Romish form, although it is substantially Protestant. Cranmer might have been confirmed in affixing a sacramental character to penance by a deference for the opinion of Luther, or from an anxiety to restore the ancient religion of England. It is taught in an Anglo-Saxon homily, that "there are three holy things instituted of God for the purgation of men —Baptism, the Eucharist, and Penitence." Wheloc. in Bed. 125.

[q] The Augsburg Confession declares, that the parts of Penitence are confession and faith. The latter is thus explained: "Altera pars est fides, quæ concipitur ex Evangelio, seu absolutione, et credit propter Christum certo remitti peccata et con-

that contrition is an internal shame and sorrow for sin, as the just cause of God's displeasure[r], which must be followed by faith in the mercy of God, and by a persuasion, on the penitent's part, that he is justified not by his own merits, but only by virtue of Christ's blood and passion; that confession to a priest, where practicable, is necessary, and that sacerdotal absolution was instituted by Christ as the means of assuring the penitent of God's grace, which entitles it to the same degree of respect as would attach to God's own words[s]; and that amendment of life, as discovered by

solatur conscientiam, et ex terroribus liberat. Deinde sequi debent boni fructus pœnitentiæ, hoc est, obedientia erga Deum." Confess. August. Art. XI.

[r] "Primum docemus necessariam esse contritionem, hoc est, veros terrores et dolores animi, qui agnoscit iram Dei, et dolet se peccasse, et desinit mala perpetrare." Ibid. de Confess.

[s] "Ideoque docent nostri retinendam esse in Ecclesiis privatam absolutionem, et ejus dignitatem, et potestatem clavium veris et amplissimis laudibus ornant. Et quod, voci illi Evangelii, quod ministerio Ecclesiæ nobis in absolutione administratur, credendum sit, tanquam voci de cœlo sonanti. Cum autem confessio præbeat locum impertiendæ absolutioni privatim, et ritus ipse intellectum potestatis clavium et remissionis peccatorum conservet in populo, præterea cum illud colloquium magnopere prosit ad monendos et erudiendos homines, diligenter retinemus in Ecclesiis confessionem, sed ita ut doceamus enumerationem delictorum non esse necessariam jure divino, nec onerandas esse conscientias illa enumeratione." (Ibid.) To this latter clause there is nothing correspondent in the English article. Even if the Archbishop were disposed to doubt the necessity of a particular enumeration of sins, it is probable that his sovereign would not have willingly disparaged a practice to which he had been habituated during his whole life.

prayer, fasting, alms-giving, and satisfaction for injuries committed, with other works of mercy and charity, is a necessary fruit of penance, without which it will not avail to salvation, but that, by means of these, the penitent will obtain both everlasting life, and a mitigation of worldly sufferings [t].

IV. A belief was to be inculcated, that, in the Sacrament of the Altar, the body and blood of Jesus Christ, such as were born of the Virgin Mary, are sensibly, substantially, and really contained under the form and figure of bread and wine: that, therefore, this Sacrament ought to be used with all due reverence and honour; and that no man ought to receive it without having first examined himself, according to the injunction of St. Paul [u].

[t] The Augsburg Confession, after condemning a trust in pilgrimages, ceremonies, and other canonical satisfactions, for the remission of the punishment due to sin, thus proceeds: "Nos igitur non oneramus conscientias satisfactionibus, sed illud docemus, fructus pœnitentiæ necessarios esse, obedientiam, timorem Dei, fidem, dilectionem, castitatem, et universam novitatem Spiritus debere in nobis crescere. Monemus et illud, sæpe puniri peccata etiam temporalibus pœnis in hac vitâ, ut David, Manasse, et alii multi puniti sunt. Et has pœnas mitigari docemus bonis operibus, et universa pœnitentia." Leavened, indeed, as is the English article throughout with Romish prejudices, it evidently was compiled with a constant reference to the Augsburg formulary, and the variations from this appear like concessions upon points deemed of minor importance.

[u] This article is more completely Romish than the former one, because the Lutherans at Augsburg went no farther than to say, that the Lord's body is *truly* present in the Eucharist. It is,

V. Justification was defined to mean, "the remission of our sins, and our acceptation or reconciliation into the grace and favour of God; that is to say, our perfect renovation in Christ." This state, it was continued, is attained by means of contrition and faith, joined with charity; but it was observed, these things are not the meritorious causes of justification, which is the free gift of God, conferred upon men solely in consideration of the Saviour's mediation and sufferings[x]; they are the marks and the fruits by which a man will necessarily be distinguished who is in the way for the attainment of everlasting salvation[y].

In these five articles are contained those lead-

however, worthy of remark, that no mention of adoration is made. The subject is only incidentally, as it were, hinted at. "The very self-same body and blood of Christ," are said "to be corporally, really, and in the very substance, *exhibited*, distributed," &c. However, nothing is said respecting the adoration of the elements, nor is it asserted that, by means of this Sacrament, any sacrifice for the quick and dead is offered by the priest. Therefore, in truth, the tendency of this article is decidedly Lutheran, although its phraseology seems rather to favour the Romish notions.

[x] "Quanquam, igitur, contritio aliqua seu pœnitentia necessaria est; tamen sentiendum est donari nobis remissionem peccatorum, et fieri nos ex injustis justos, id est, reconciliatos seu acceptos et filios Dei, gratis, propter Christum, non propter dignitatem contritionis, aut aliorum operum præcedentium aut sequentium. Sed fide hoc beneficium accipiendum est, qua credere nos oportet, quod, propter Christum nobis donentur remissio peccatorum et justificatio." Confess. August. de Fid.

[y] "Promissio est universalis, et nihil detrahit operibus, imo excuscitat ad fidem et vere bona opera." Ibid.

ing principles of belief which were to be made the foundation of such religious instruction as their spiritual guides were to dispense among the people. Viewed as the first step taken in the important work of reforming the doctrine of the English Church, this summary must be considered as a very interesting document. The principles inculcated do, indeed, at times, wear something of a Romish appearance; but when they are examined, it becomes evident that their origin and tendency are pretty completely Lutheran. The unqualified rejection of tradition as the groundwork of faith, was in itself a most important advantage gained by the friends of religious truth: it might fairly be considered as counterbalancing the tenderness towards usages long popular which clings to the article upon penance especially. Perhaps, indeed, it was wise to consult, in the first advances towards the restoration of an undoubtedly apostolical faith, the prejudices of men, so far as it could be done without tampering with their spiritual welfare, by allowing them to receive false doctrine. By this conciliatory process they might be gradually weaned from the very doubtful opinions long naturalised among them, and at length become duly sensible how very far truth, unquestionably divine, transcends principles derived from tradition. Upon this ground may be excused, perhaps, the very delicate hand with which the old superstitions are touched in five additional articles, "concerning the laudable ceremonies used in the Church." In

these articles the ministers of religion found themselves enjoined to uphold, though with mitigated reverence, those pernicious vanities which fatally tend to hide from the eyes of men the best and most important features of the Christian faith. Thus designing clergymen were left, in a great measure, at liberty to disregard the sound doctrines which were laid down as the basis of their popular instruction; and still to cherish among their congregations a love for those relics of Paganism to which they had been habituated.

By the first of the supplemental articles, ministers were enjoined to teach, that images might properly remain in churches, especially the images of Christ and our Lady, as incentives to devotion, but not as objects of religious worship, according to the prevailing usage of former times. Hence kneeling, or offering incense to images, was condemned as leading to idolatry [*].

II. It was to be taught, that saints are to be honoured; not, however, as if those things could be obtained from them, which are to be expected only from God; but rather, because they are individuals now in glory, who exhibited while on

[*] The apology offered in this article for bestowing any degree of honour upon images, is, as all such attempts must be, a very lame performance. It thus begins: "As touching images; truth it is, that the same have been used in the Old Testament, and also for the great abuses of them, sometime destroyed and put down. And in the New Testament they have been also allowed, *as good authors do declare.*" Neither the passages of Scripture, nor the names of the authors designated as "*good,*" are specified. Luther,

earth a good example to those who should come after, especially in suffering persecution for the sake of religion [a].

III. Although it was admitted that grace, remission of sins, and eternal life, come to men from God only, through Jesus Christ, who alone is a sufficient mediator; yet, it was added, that pray-

it should be recollected, was not disposed to remove the images from churches at first; hence, he disapproved the precipitate zeal of Carlostadt, who, during the great Reformer's seclusion in the castle of Wartburg, incited the multitude to clear the sacred edifices of these ornaments. Mosheim thus notices this transaction. "Luther opposed the impetuosity of this imprudent Reformer (Carlostadt) with the utmost fortitude and dignity, and wisely exhorted him and his adherents first to eradicate error from the minds of the people, before they made war upon its external ensigns in the churches and public places; since, the former being once removed, the latter must fall of course, and since the destruction of the latter alone could be attended with no lasting fruits." This representation of Luther's views, as to some of the externals of the established worship, will, probably, furnish a clue to much of Cranmer's conduct in the earlier years of his primacy. His endeavours were unremittingly directed towards the storing of the popular mind with sound principles; and he seems to have thought, that, during the process of imparting solid information to the people, it would be prudent to treat their mere superstitions with considerable indulgence. This feeling evidently actuated the principal compiler of the articles mentioned above. The first five, which define the great principles of the Christian faith, are decidedly Lutheran: the last five, which treat of externals in religious worship, are such as a moderate Romanist will find somewhat endurable.

[a] Possibly this passage might have been inserted from the hint supplied by the following words: "Constantia martyrum veterum nunc quoque confirmat animos piorum." Confess. August. Art. XXI.

ing to saints is "very laudable," for the purpose of engaging them to pray for us and with us[b]. Nevertheless, in order to prevent this practice from degenerating into superstition, it was to be taught that one saint is not more powerful than another, and that particular saints do not patronize particular things. It was also said, that the holidays in honour of particular saints ought still to be observed "unto God, in memory of him

[b] The following form is supplied for this purpose: "All holy angels and saints in heaven pray for us and with us, to the Father, that for his dear Son Jesu Christ his sake, we may have grace of him, and remission of our sins, with an earnest purpose (not wanting ghostly strength) to observe and keep his holy commandments, and never to decline again from the same unto our lives end." It is added: "In this manner we may pray to our Lady, to St. John Baptist, or to any other saint particularly." Beyond this probably no well-informed member of the Romish Church would feel inclined to defend any reference to saints. But although the worship of defunct individuals may be disclaimed, and the invocation of them only defended, it will naturally occur to every attentive reader of Scripture, when thinking upon this subject, that he never read in that volume which alone can give such information, of any mediator or intercessor for man except Jesus Christ; and that he has discovered nothing, in God's recorded communications to men, which will enable him to judge as to whether departed spirits, whatever may be their excellence, have any knowledge of things passing upon the earth. The Confession of Augsburg (Art. XXI.) thus excellently treats this subject: "Taxanda, et ex Ecclesia prorsus ejicienda est consuetudo invocandi sanctos homines qui ex hac vita decesserunt, quia hic mos gloriam soli Deo debitam transfert ad homines, tribuit mortuis omnipotentiam, quod sancti aspiciant motus cordium, tribuit item mortuis officium mediatoris Christi, et haud dubie obscurat gloriam Christi."

and his saints," except in such cases as the King or the ordinary should give directions to the contrary.

IV. The people were to be instructed, that ceremonies were not to be condemned and rejected, but continued on account of their mystical signification, and of their utility in raising the minds of men to God; that thus holy water reminds us of our baptism, and of the sprinkling of Christ's blood; holy bread, of the sacramental elements, and of our union with the Saviour; the procession of candle-bearers on Candlemas-day, of the spiritual light derived from Christ; the giving of ashes on Ash-Wednesday, of penance, and of our mortality; the carrying of palms on Palm-Sunday, of our desire for the entrance of Christ into our hearts, as he once entered into Jerusalem; the creeping to the cross, and the kissing it, with the setting up of the sepulchre on Good-Friday, of our obligations to the passion and death of Christ. Besides these ceremonies, the people were to be taught still to respect exorcising, hallowing of fonts, and other such usages of the Established Church.

V. Forasmuch as it is charitable, brought to our notice by the book of Maccabees [c], recom-

[c] 2 Maccabees xii. 39, et seq. ad fin. That prayers for the dead receive some countenance, such as it is, from these passages, cannot be denied; but it is manifest that the author of the book of Maccabees misunderstood the act which he has described; and that, in consequence, he has made a reflection upon it, which is not very intelligible, and which is wholly unwarranted either by

mended by "divers ancient doctors," and "an usage which hath continued in the church so

the conduct of Judas, or by the words of any genuine Scripture. Dean Prideaux, (Connexion, II. 171.) after relating that several Jews had been slain in a battle fought successfully by Judas Maccabeus with Gorgias, thus continues: "The next day following, going forth to bury such of their brethren as were slain in the battle, they (the soldiers of Judas) found about every one of them some of the things that had been dedicated to the idols of the heathens, which, though taken by them among the spoils of that war, were forbidden by the law to be kept by them, (Deut. vii. 25, 26.) whereby perceiving for what cause God had given them to be slain, Judas and all his company gave praise unto Him, and humbly offered up their prayers for the pardon of the sin. And then, making a collection through the whole camp, which amounted to two thousand drachms, sent it to Jerusalem to provide sin-offerings there to be offered up for the expiating of this offence; that wrath for it might not fall upon the whole congregation of Israel, as it had in the case of Achan." (Josh. vii.) From this statement of the case, it appears that the act of Judas was not intended as a benefit to the dead, but to the living. This indeed may be inferred from the language of the Apocryphal compiler, obscure and blundering as it is. He says, ver. 41, 42. "All men, therefore, praising the Lord, the righteous Judge, who had opened the things that were hid, betook themselves unto prayer, and besought him, that the sin committed might be wholly put out of remembrance." This passage relates a fact; and, taken by itself, it clearly describes the anxiety of the suppliants to avert from the whole Israelitish race the punishment which had justly fallen upon a band of degenerate Jews. The writer has afterwards chosen to subjoin some obscure fancies of his own, which are certainly not unworthy of the Vatican; but to say nothing of the ambiguity which clings to his relation, the superstitious reveries of some nameless Jews, ought surely to be deemed an authority much too slight for a Christian to found his belief upon it in a matter of some importance.

many years, even from the beginning," to pray for souls departed; therefore the people were to be taught, that "no man ought to be grieved with the continuance of this practice," nor with seeing the dead recommended to the divine mercy by means of masses and exequies. But it was added, as neither the name nor the description of the place to which departed souls are consigned, is ascertainable from Scripture, nothing positive upon these subjects ought to be determined by men, but that they should content themselves with recommending their deceased friends to the mercy of God. Nor was a belief to remain uncontradicted of the efficacy formerly assigned to pardons from the Bishop of Rome, or of masses said in particular places, for the relief of departed spirits.

The obvious tendency of these articles renders it sufficiently plain why they were carried through the Convocation with so much difficulty, for they in effect deny the principles of Romanism, and leave nothing of that system uncondemned but such ceremonies and trifles as must soon, if left to themselves, sink into total contempt among all men of sound judgment and good information. Nor could it have escaped an individual of ordinary discernment who examined them, that the first five articles, which pretty plainly inculcate Lutheran tenets, are supported by references to Scripture, and are generally conceived in clear and satisfactory terms; whereas the last five, which profess to uphold some of the externals of

the established worship, are dogmatical and obscure. The concessions made to Romish prejudices were thus rendered of very little real value, and on this account the exertions of the Primate and his party would probably, if unbacked by the King's influence, have failed to prevail with the Convocation[d]. But Henry's known concurrence in the Archbishop's views at last overcame the repugnance of the Romanists; and to this document, accordingly, were appended the signatures of Cromwell, of the two archbishops, of sixteen bishops, of forty abbots and priors, and of fifty archdeacons and proctors[e].

A copy of these articles, thus authenticated, was submitted to the King, who, after having made some corrections in them to meet his particular views[f], ordered them to be published in his

[d] "On the 11th of July, the book concerning the articles of faith, and the ceremonies, was brought in by the Bishop of Hereford, and was signed by both Houses. These were also signed by the Archbishop of York, and the Bishop of Duresme." Burnet, Hist. Ref. III. 181.

[e] Bishop Gardiner's signature is not appended to these articles. The other episcopal signatures which are wanting, are those of Carlisle and Llandaff. The former of these sees was then held by John Kite. To the latter had been preferred, in 1516, a Spanish Dominican friar, named George de Athequa, who came into England with Catharine of Aragon. Probably this prelate might be abroad. In 1537, Robert Holgate was made Bishop of Llandaff.

[f] "There are several draughts of these articles that are in several places corrected by the King's own hand; some of the corrections are very long and very material." Burnet, Hist. Ref. III. 181.

name, as a standard of doctrine for the direction of the clergy. This document was thus designated: "Articles devised by the King's Highness to stable Christian quietness and unity among the people." The preface to this compilation is an address from Henry to his subjects; and, among other things, he says in it, that "he was constrained to put his own pen to the work, and to conceive certain articles [g]." Upon the merits of the work after it had been published, great hesitation prevailed throughout the country. Neither party was satisfied [h]. For although the Protestants were rejoiced to find that traditions, popes, and councils, were no longer to thrust into the back ground God's undoubted Word; yet they could not avoid lamenting, that auricular confession, the invocation of saints, the retaining of images, with many superstitious rites and ceremonies, were still supported by authority. Nor could such of them as had adopted Zuingle's opinion of the Eucharist [i], feel satisfied with merely seeing no mention made of the adoration of the elements, or of the propitiatory character attributed by Romanists to the mass, when they found that transubstantiation was maintained in the most unequivocal manner. On the other hand,

[g] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 63.

[h] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 338.

[i] From accounts of prosecutions for heresy instituted about this time, it appears that the Zuinglian doctrine was taught by many English Reformers. See Strype, Eccl. Mem. I. ch. 36.

the Romish party observing that the main grounds of their faith were taken away, purgatory placed in considerable uncertainty, their peculiar enumeration of the Sacraments omitted, and some of their most popular superstitions expressly condemned, were very far from being contented with the vestiges, numerous as they were, of the old system, which were allowed to remain. But although these articles gave full satisfaction to neither party, they were received with far greater cordiality by the Protestants than by the Papists. The former felt that they had gained a decided victory over their adversaries; the latter, that they had barely escaped from a complete overthrow.

Before the Convocation was dismissed, Henry determined upon availing himself of its authority in order to excuse an inconsistency which he was about to commit. In the earlier stages of his dispute with the court of Rome, he had appealed from the Pope to a general council. Arrangements were now making for the meeting at Mantua of an assembly bearing that name, which was to commence its sittings in the next year. But the King had no longer much reason to desire this mode of regulating his ecclesiastical affairs, nor could he feel any confidence in the justice of a deliberative body, assembled at a great distance from his dominions, and in a situation which could hardly fail of proving an advantageous theatre for the intrigues of his most dangerous enemies, the Emperor and the Pope. He, therefore, wished to

be furnished with a plausible excuse for retracting his former appeal; and he justly thought, that one could not be supplied in any manner so proper as by his own clergy in Convocation. Accordingly, on the last day of their session*, Bishop Fox, of Hereford, submitted to the two Houses the King's reasons for declining to take any part in the expected proceedings at Mantua. Upon these reasons the clergy were required to express their opinion; and they determined that his Majesty ought to treat the proposed council with total neglect. A declaration of the grounds upon which they had come to this decision, was then drawn up and authenticated by the signatures of the Vicar-general, of the Archbishop, of fourteen bishops, and of forty-nine abbots, priors, and inferior clergymen belonging to the province of Canterbury. In substance, this document admits the benefits to be expected from an unexceptionable general council, and exposes the evils which could not fail to flow from an assembly under that name, convoked from party and secular motives. After this introduction it was stated, that it is necessary to determine in whom is vested the right of calling a general council; the reasons which led to the adoption of such a measure, whether they render it indispensable or not; the judges who are to decide the questions proposed for discus-

* July 20. (Fuller, 223.) The Parliament had been dissolved two days before; "beginning the eighth of June, and ending the eighteenth of July next following." Herbert, 202.

sion; the course of proceeding; and the subjects of debate. As to the first of these matters, it was agreed by the Convocation, that neither the Pope, nor any one prince, possesses the right of convoking a general council, but that such an assembly can only meet with the concurrence of all Christian princes[1]. Upon the other points, the expression of an opinion appears to have been deemed superfluous. It was the Pope alone who had pretended to convoke a council at Mantua; and it being determined that his authority was insufficient for any such purpose, it was evidently unnecessary to discuss the course proper to be pursued in an assembly not at all likely to be convened under circumstances pronounced indispensable for the validity of its proceedings. Accordingly, after the Convocation had thus disposed of the question proposed for its consideration, it was immediately dissolved.

After the lapse of a short interval, when, as appears from the instrument, Popish intrigues had plunged a great part of England into civil commotions, a manifesto was published, detailing at considerable length the King's motives in disregarding the preparations for the proposed Mantuan council. This state-paper exposes, in forcible language, the folly of expecting that any good can arise to the Christian Church from the proceedings of any assembly under the Pontiff's control. From a body thus situated, it was said,

[1] Herbert, 208.

nothing could be anticipated, but that no stone would be left unturned; no fraud, imposture, craft, trick, deceit, iniquity, intrigue, bribery, or hypocrisy, unemployed, for the purpose of consolidating and establishing the tyranny of Papal Rome. Determined therefore, as he was, continued the King, to hold no intercourse with *that man*, (as the Pope was rather uncourteously designated,) he meant to send no minister to the proposed council, nor would he have even noticed it, had it not been from a desire to vindicate his conduct in the eyes of all well-meaning persons. For their satisfaction, then, he protested, that the right of convoking a general council is vested in the potentates of Christendom conjointly; that the Pope, having no just claim to greater power than any other prelate, has no authority whatever to summon such a body; that his object in assuming such an authority, is to usurp a dominion over the consciences of men by means of nefarious traditions, and to establish a primacy upon false grounds; that, in the unsettled state of affairs then existing, no general council could meet with safety, or deliberate with freedom; that Mantua was particularly unsuited for the end proposed, because completely under papal influence; and that Paul, actuated by personal hostility towards the King, had endeavoured by every means to send, not peace upon the earth, but a sword. But although it was stated these considerations would certainly prevent England from sending any delegates to Mantua, and from respecting any decrees

which might emanate from that place, the King professed his willingness to open a negociation for the assembly of a deliberative body, fairly representing all branches of the Church, whenever the universal pacification of Christian princes should render such a project feasible [m].

Before Cranmer and his brethren were allowed to return to their respective dioceses, the King required their assistance in furnishing a reply to a violent and indecent attack made upon him by his kinsman, Reginald Pole [n]. As Henry entertained at one time great personal regard for this scholar, and a high opinion of his talents, he had been very anxious to win his approbation for the various reforms which had been accomplished in the English Church. But Pole, in his long residence abroad, seems to have contracted a disposition to believe every calumny circulated to the prejudice of his royal benefactor, and to have been immovably confirmed in all the prejudices of his education: hence no arguments or persuasions could induce him to applaud the emancipation of his country from the interference and exactions of certain Italians, who had attained the summit of the clerical profession. Since, however, he was still a young man [o], and had acquired the reputation of possessing more than an ordinary share of intelligence and candour, Henry naturally thought

[m] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 64.

[n] Collier, Records, II. 28.

[o] He was thirty-six years of age.

that the bias of his mind might eventually be corrected by the reasonings of more experienced men. Dr. Richard Sampson, Dean of the Chapel Royal, had written a tract in Latin, for the purpose of proving that the Papal supremacy is a mere usurpation, and that the superiority of the crown reaches to ecclesiastical causes. This piece shews, that the Popes cannot deduce their claims from Scripture rightly understood, and that no such claims were ever heard of in the earlier periods of ecclesiastical antiquity. It in fact argues, that the Pope can no more make good his pretensions to jurisdiction over England, than the Archbishop of Canterbury could establish similar pretensions over Rome[p]. This tract, with some other pieces of a like tendency, were transmitted to Pole by the King's order, with an intimation from Cromwell, that his Majesty would be glad to receive his kinsman's candid opinion upon the matters handled in them. When this communication arrived, the distinguished churchman was at Ravelone, a seat near Venice, belonging to his friend Priuli. He was not unprepared for returning an answer to the Vicar-general, having already composed in part a treatise on the Unity of the Church. This piece he now finished, sending it in its progress, sheet by sheet, to his friends, Contareni and Priuli, then at Rome. They were astonished at the boldness of invective which ran through their acquaintance's performance; and if

[p] Ri. Sampson, Orat. Strype, Eccl. Mem. I. Appendix, 162.

they were men of any discernment, they could hardly fail of observing how often the roughest tempers are masked by a smooth exterior. However that may be, it is certain that they did not omit to represent the dangers in which Pole would probably involve both himself and his family, if he should venture to send such a mass of personalities beyond the circle of his most intimate associates. These considerations, the princely Englishman replied, had not escaped his own notice; but that, as the King had been sadly spoiled by flatterers, it was not his intention to approach him under any character so disreputable. Notwithstanding, however, that the author's self-conceit never appears to have deserted him until he had completed his work, he then shewed signs of feeling some misgivings. Contareni desired permission to submit the piece to the Pope: a request which Pole refused, under the ridiculous plea, that his Holiness could not spare the time requisite for doing justice to his performance [q]. At last, after some apprehensions upon the score of his family, this model of all that is amiable, according to Romish authors, ventured upon the perilous experiment of sending his treatise to England, accompanied by a letter to the King, in which he requested, that some individual should

[q] "But his unwillingness arose from an apprehension that it might be known in England that a work which he had addressed to the King, had, contrary to all order, been first sent to the Pope." Hist. of Reginald Pole, by Thomas Phillips, Oxford, 1764.

be employed by his Majesty to read the book, for the sake of furnishing him with such an account of its contents as might appear advisable. For this delicate office, he begged leave to recommend Tunstall, Bishop of Durham [r]. The recommendation was not disregarded: Tunstall was desired to read this specimen of Anglo-Italian temper and abilities. He did read it; so did Pole's friend, Starky, who was probably one of the royal chaplains [s]; and both these readers arose from perusing the tissue of slander and scurrility, which they found presented to their view, disgusted and amazed.

This work, so decisive of the writer's claims to posthumous respect, is comprized in four books [t],

[r] This may be collected from a letter of Pole's to Tunstall. Strype, Eccl. Mem. I. Appendix, 306.

[s] "There was one Thomas Starky, a learned and ingenious man, called in by Cromwell, lately in some service about the King, (in quality of his chaplain, if I mistake not,) who was an old friend and dear acquaintance of Pole's, and had been with him in Italy, and there left him; and professed to love Pole better than his brother." Strype, Eccl. Mem. I. 361.

[t] "The work (says he) is divided into four books: in the first of these, I refute the supremacy the King has taken upon himself, and a treatise wrote in defence of it, which, by his orders, was sent me from England. The second asserts the prerogatives of the see of Rome, and answers the objections made against it. In the third, I sound in the King's ear the voice which the guiltless blood he has shed, and the horror of his other actions, raises up to Heaven against him. Having thus discharged what I owed to truth and my country's welfare; in the last part I cast myself at the King's feet; I conjure him to take in good part what I had wrote, as it proceeded from zeal and affection; and

of which the three first are argumentative, the fourth is chiefly filled with apologies for the vulgar acrimony of its precursors. In these, Henry was charged with wanting common sense; with confounding the ecclesiastical with the civil power, things as widely apart as heaven and earth; with insensibility to the dignity of the priesthood, a character far transcending that of royalty. After these preliminaries, the King was informed, that his conduct was worse than that of Dathan and Abiram; that he was like Lucifer; that he had begun his assumed pontificate by shedding innocent blood; that not a drop of celestial dew, or grace, was left in his mind; and that he was harassed by a worse spirit than that which vexed Saul. Pole then threatened his royal kinsman with the impending vengeance of Heaven; complained that the Pope was called Bishop of Rome, not Vicar of Christ; that he was said to have no more power in England, than the Archbishop of Canterbury has in Rome; that vicious Pontiffs had been considered to weaken the claims of their office to apostolical privileges; and that the English should have abolished the papal power, a sin worse than that of the Israelites in demanding a King, and likely to be more severely punished. If, he continued, these abuses are not

on this account to excuse me, if any where I seem to exceed those bounds, which custom has prescribed to subjects when they treat with their prince.—This is the account which he gave the Emperor of the performance, some years after it was finished." Phillips,

removed, the kingly power ought to be destroyed as it was by the ancient Romans; since the Pope is the head of the Church, in the same way that God is head of the world: and, therefore, those who deny the Papal authority, need not wonder if the earth should yawn and swallow them up, as it did the seditious company of Korah. After these samples of Anglo-Italian politeness, the author, so famed for courtesy, proceeded to descant upon Henry's domestic policy. The divorce from Catharine was desired merely to gratify his Majesty's lust: Mary Boleyn had been his concubine; therefore, in marrying Anne, the law, prohibiting the marriage of sisters, had been violated; the poor were oppressed; the nobility treated with injustice; persons of the lowest origin were raised to the highest dignities; the supremacy was annexed to the crown, because its present possessor was imbued with the arts of Satan; the execution of the Charter-house monks was a barbarity befitting Cerberus, and worthy of such a judge as the devil: More was a martyr, and the father of his country, condemned as iniquitously as Socrates was at Athens; Fisher's virtues were of the highest order. Popes, it was said, have been pronounced to be no vicars of Christ, on account of their moral corruption; but are they more depraved, it was asked, than some kings; especially more so than that king who has assumed the papal prerogatives? After this flattering interrogatory, his Majesty was informed, that the denial of the Pope's claim to be considered as Christ's

vicar, was a parallel case to that of the Jews, who denied Christ to be the Messiah; that he reigned more like a Turk than a Christian; that the English had ever lived happily under former kings, but that now they could not sufficiently bewail their misfortune; that he resembled Ahab, and Anne Boleyn, Jezebel; that he had better recollect how the dogs were to lick the blood of Ahab, as a punishment for his sins; that even Nero and Domitian had not committed such murders as had recently been perpetrated in England; and that the silence with which the nation had endured the late alterations, arose from an overpowering sense of fear, like that which suppressed the murmurs of the Jews under the iron rule of their Assyrian tyrants. No man, this unsparing partizan said, had ever oppressed the Church so much as Henry; his conduct was worse than even that of the Algerine pirates, lately chastised by the Emperor; he was more cruel than any pirate, more impudent than Satan himself; a more proper subject for the Emperor's attacks, than the Turks, whose policy he imitated in propagating heresy by the sword, as they did Mahometanism. Having thus warmed his imagination with the firebrand of sedition, the professed apologist for religious unity goes on to say, that an attack upon the King would be more glorious to the imperial arms, than the capture of Constantinople; that all Christian princes are his enemies; that his heart was foul when he consulted the learned upon his divorce; that he was like Ahab, deceived by a lying spirit;

that every body, even the loungers in the barbers' shops, when talking of tyranny or impiety, mentioned him as an example; that God had permitted the devil to enter into him; that there were not the least remains of virtue in him; that he had not a spark of justice left; that if he were attacked, he would derive no assistance from either natives or foreigners, but would be generally abandoned, as were Sardanapalus and Richard III. At length, all the terms of abuse and virulence having been fairly exhausted, the author, who has thus enabled his readers to judge pretty accurately of his pretensions to be considered among the most candid of mankind, has the face to turn round, chaunt his own praises, and inform the King that he has strung his scurrilities together with the kindest intentions imaginable. His nature, he tells him, was utterly abhorrent from all calumny and violence. So gentle was his disposition, that he would suffer himself to lie under a load of unjust censure, rather than attack any one with contumelious language, or requite railing by railing. As for his plain dealing upon this occasion, it was only intended to admonish his relative of the faults which he had committed, a species of liberty which David had freely allowed; that, indeed, he was under very considerable obligations to Henry, and therefore desired to render him a service, rather than to give him offence [u].

[u] The following particulars respecting Pole's performance are extracted from the work of his biographer and panegyrist, Phil-

No sooner had Bishop Tunstall read Pole's extraordinary production, than he despatched to

lips. "Before he had taken this final resolution (of sending his piece to the King,) as he was looking over the work, not without some thoughts of suppressing it, and finding, to his no small wonder, those sheets to be wanting in which the King's reputation had been treated with greater freedom than in the other parts, he suspected they had been purloined with a malevolent design of shewing them to his Majesty, and raising his choler against the author; and that this had determined him not to delay sending the entire work to him." This account, however, is very little, if any thing advantageous to Pole's reputation; because it shews either that he had another copy of his book lying by him, or that he sat down, and re-wrote it. In both cases his effusions bear a disreputable appearance of deliberation. It appears, however, that this ungrateful writer calculated upon intimidating his benefactor by this display of calumnious insolence. Phillips thus represents him to have addressed the King: "I assured him (Henry) that what I had wrote, had been wrote to him alone; and been communicated to nobody from whom his reputation could suffer: I begged him to consult his fame, and those other interests which were still nearer: that, as for my own part, I desired nothing so earnestly as to change my style, and publish his praises with a joy equal to the grief I then felt in bewailing his disorders. That, in the mean time, *I would suppress the work as long as I had any hopes of acknowledging in a more pleasing argument*, how much I was indebted to him for my education, and so many other marks of his royal bounty."—"Priuli and Contareni, the revisers, were the only persons to whom he (Pole) communicated it (his work) before it was sent to England; and he had given the latter his reasons for the unwillingness he testified of its being shewn to Clement VII. Being afterwards treated with great distinction by his successor, Paul III. and lodged in the palace, that Pontiff, notwithstanding his repeated instances, had never been able to prevail on him to give him a sight of it; and three years after, on his return from an embassy in Spain, finding it had been printed in his absence,

him an expostulatory letter of great length, "Your long book," wrote the prelate to him, "has

he got all the copies into his own keeping. At length the work having been published in Germany, from a pirated copy, with the most virulent notes, he consented it should be published, and appear in his own name; but this happened several years after Henry's death." From these statements, the reader might indeed be led to suspect, that Pole's book is not altogether to his credit; however, his biographer takes care to let those of his communion very little into the secret. The following is the account which he gives of his hero's principal performance: "The capital, and perhaps the only material objection made to it, is a personal animosity and spirit of revenge, which is *said* to appear through the whole. The King's crimes are set forth in colours which naturally create aversion and horror; and the author is accused, both in the facts he relates, and in his manner of relating them, frequently to forget that respect from which no provocation, however atrocious, can exempt a subject when he treats with his sovereign." Thus, as no samples of the work are supplied, those who read none but Romish books, may believe merely that some people have considered the piece to be rather vindictive in its language, and the author to have transgressed the rules of courtly politeness in exposing the guilt of his prince. Bishop Burnet (Hist. Ref. I. 343.) very justly treats this work as a very moderate performance, and says of it, "The book was more considered for the author, and the wit and eloquence of it, than for any great learning or deep reasoning in it." These few words explain very satisfactorily the prominence of Pole in his life-time, and the importance assigned to his testimony by the Romish party up to the present day. His appearance was eminently calculated to impose upon the world; for he possessed the advantages of most exalted birth, highly decorous habits, elegant manners, and scholarly attainments. Men looked at these unquestionable claims to their favourable opinion, and they forgot to enquire whether the individual thus recommended, was possessed of sterling talent, sound judgment, enlightened views, and a candid temper. A careful consideration of Pole's life and writ-

caused to me much heaviness of heart. Heat and passion, of the most offensive kind, run through every part of it; and yet the whole matter is very wide of the truth. Your professed purpose is to reconcile the King to the Church; whereas he has never departed from it. You promise, that if he will return to the faith, you will retract your censures; and, in their room, sound his praises. Thus, however, your book makes many wounds; but it contains little or no salve to heal them. You must surely have been strangely disturbed in mind when you employed yourself in writing such a work. Would it not have been far wiser to express your opinion briefly by letter to the King, than thus to have dilated upon all sorts of subjects, as you have done? What stupidity was it to send so long a book so long a way, filled, as it is, with such unpleasant matter, and liable, as it was, by means of various casualties, to get abroad? If it had thus found its way into public, how great injury would have arisen to the credit of your King and country, but most of all to your own, as the writer of such a work! Even his Grace's enemies, although they might like the matter, would assuredly have misliked him, who has thus misused his learning to reproach his benefactor. Therefore, if it be only for your own credit, and for that of your noble family, let me

ings will shew, that he was deficient in all these things. Hence he suffered himself to be led away by designing politicians, and his own senseless bigotry, so far as to undertake treasonable intrigues, and to circulate party libels.

advise you to burn such papers relating to this work as you have with you, and determine for the future to employ your pen in defending your benefactor, if any other person should blame his proceedings. In truth, you wholly mistake what has been done here. You suppose that the King, in taking the supremacy upon him, has swerved from the unity of the Church, and has assumed what is peculiar to the priesthood. But, instead of this, his Grace, though determined to deliver the Church of England from the usurpations of foreigners, is resolved to maintain the Catholic faith in its purity; and no prince ever understood what belongs to spiritual men better than he does. He has only acted according to the decrees of the eight general councils, decrees which the Bishop of Rome solemnly professes to observe at his creation, and which you can easily procure at Venice. Would to God you had employed yourself in such reading before you sent your book to England! You might then have known, that the monarchy of the Popes is of no long standing; that for a thousand years after Christ, the customs of Christendom differed from those since introduced by the Church of Rome. Therefore the King's object is no other than to restore things to the state in which they were at the beginning. Of this, I think, I could convince you, if I were with you but a single day: for I could shew you, that neither the ancient fathers nor councils knew any thing of the power now usurped by the Bishops of Rome. Wherefore, I beseech you, to study

those authors which can instruct you in ecclesiastical antiquity; and do not rashly set up your own judgment against that of all your countrymen, who have been very unanimous in abolishing the Pope's supremacy. Trust not yourself too much; but let others, whose search has gone farther than yours, bring you over to their opinion. If you persuade not yourself that you have already found the truth, I doubt not you will find it by seeking farther for it. I again beseech you to burn the original of your sharp books; and if you shall conform yourself to the opinion of your country, and to the truth, I feel assured that you will be as well accepted of the King's Highness as ever you were[x]."

Starky despatched a letter to Italy, commenting upon his former friend's work with a severity not less than the Bishop's. "I had been grieved," he wrote to Pole, "at your unkind silence; but when I read your performance, I was glad that you have treated me with this unmerited neglect. Nor should I have written to you again, if I had not thought it my duty to admonish you of your ingratitude towards your prince, and your injustice towards your country. I assure you, that when I first heard your book read, I was amazed

[x] Letter to Pole from the Bishop of Durham. Burnet, Hist. Ref. Records, III. 160. To this Pole wrote a long reply, in which he answers the Bishop's advice to burn his books by saying, "I intend not to abolish, nor do that injury to Catholic books that is just for heretical." Strype, Eccl. Mem. Appendix, I. 313.

and astonished above measure; it seemed to me like a dream, at least like no oration of Master Pole. I therefore obtained leave to read over your book by myself; and afterward I read it over with my Lord of Durham; but the more I read it, the greater was my astonishment. For after having given to your piece the most careful consideration, I must say, that you appear to me to have come to the most frantic judgment that ever learned man did. The whole force of your argument lies in this, that because we are slipped from our former obedience to the see of Rome, we are no members of the Catholic Church, but are worse than Turks and Saracens. Upon this ground you rail at your prince more vehemently than ever Gregory did against Julian the Apostate, or than was ever done against the worst tyrants who have persecuted the doctrine of Christ. You pretend indeed that your sharpness arises from your affection; but be assured, that no men are so blind as not to think that a very foolish kind of affection, which brings forth so much acrimony and slander. Wherefore, Master Pole, despise not the consent of your country, and of all its best learned men; ponder your vehement and frantic oration. Judge not your master upon an occasion so light. Truth it is, we do deny, that God's law gives any superiority to the Bishop of Rome; but we do not deny the faith which from the beginning hath been taught at Rome. It is the holding of this latter which keeps men in the unity of the Church, not the owning of the Pope's

supremacy: a thing which hath no root in Scripture, and which was established over the West about five hundred years since, by means of worldly policy. You seek to establish this superiority by God's Word; but you follow, in your expositions of that Word, only the glosses of the later doctors, wholly forgetting the works of the ancient fathers. Search then, I beseech you, more deeply into this matter, and you will find that you have shapen your oration very wide of the truth; that your tragical complaints, venomous slanders, and vehement expressions, have no ground whatever on which to rest. Let not yourself be drawn in to share the counsels of the Bishop of Rome, rather than those of your natural prince. If you judge yourself to be more bounden to that foreign bishop than you are to your native sovereign, I think all men will judge you to lack a great part of wit, and more of virtue and honesty. But I will not despair of you. I shall never cease to pray, that you may in this case, and in every other, truly serve your prince and country; and that both of us, with all those who profess the faith of Christ, may at the last agree together in concord of opinion and unity[r]."

The King appears to have borne with tolerable temper his ungrateful kinsman's attack upon his character and policy. He had displayed upon all occasions a considerable degree of affection for

[r] Letter of Starky to Pole. Strype, Eccl. Mem. Appendix, I. 282.

Pole; and he still shewed himself willing to make allowances for his violence, in consideration of his imperfect means of knowing the truth, and of the rancorous hostility towards Scriptural Christianity, which actuated his Italian associates. He therefore caused him to be summoned home without delay, for the purpose of giving and receiving such explanations respecting the matter of his book as appeared to be necessary. But Pole seems to have entered so thoroughly into the views of the papal court, that he did not think it safe to venture across the channel. Accordingly he replied to his royal benefactor, that he could not return to England so long as that law continued in force which rendered it penal to deny the King's supremacy[z]. Henry finding the cherished object of his bounty thus obstinately bent upon mischief, felt it necessary to take some precautionary measures against the effects likely to be produced by those libels and sophistries, which were not likely to be long concealed from the public eye. Accordingly the prelates were required to prepare such a statement of the historical facts adverted to by Pole, as would expose his blunders and misrepresentations. In compliance with this order, they soon presented to their sovereign a statement in opposition to Pole's, authenticated by their respective signatures. This document contained proofs, drawn from history,

[z] Letter of Pole to the King. Strype, Eccl. Mem. Appendix, I. 296.

and from the acts of councils, that the papal supremacy was not admitted until after several centuries of the Christian era had elapsed: nor that even now was it compatible with the oath taken by the Pontiffs at their inauguration, to observe the decrees of the first eight general councils; since, in these, and especially in the first council of Constantinople, it was enacted, that the power of all bishops should be limited to their respective dioceses. After this it was proved, that the Popedom had laid the foundations of its authority in the concessions of the Roman Emperors, and that it could claim no jurisdiction from Jesus Christ, whose kingdom, as it was shewn from Scripture and the fathers, was spiritual, not secular[a].

Such was the unanimity of the prelates at this time in maintaining the royal supremacy, that Bishop Gardiner published a tract entitled *De Vera Obedientia*, with a view of recommending his Majesty's assumption to the world. To this piece, Dr. Edmund Boner, afterwards of persecuting notoriety, supplied a preface. The Bishop, in his work, derides that distinction between the temporal and the spiritual jurisdictions, which Romanists so much laboured to enforce. He reasons, that the sword of the Church extends no farther than teaching and excommunication, and that the temporal sword is that which ought to have the pre-eminence. Concerning the Pope's primacy, he observes, not a syllable is to be found

[a] Herbert, 182.

in Scripture; and that, after our Lord's ascension, it is plain, from the words of Eusebius, there were no contests about precedence between the three chief apostles, St. Peter, St. John, and St. James the Great, but they contentedly resigned the see of Jerusalem to St. James the Less, who is called our Lord's brother. Boner's preface is at once coarse and sycophantic. The Pope is loaded with abuse, while the King and the Bishop of Winchester are immeasurably extolled. Upon the whole, this work, though of no great intrinsic value[b], is an interesting monument of the times; as it shews at once the unanimity with which able men of every party conspired to decry the folly of filling the pockets, and pampering the pride, of a few artful foreigners; and also as it displays the versatility of character manifested by some of the principal Romish divines at the period of the Reformation[c].

[b] "As to Gardiner, he seems to have been a better statesman than controversial divine. For though his topics are sometimes good, yet, generally speaking, his reasoning is either foreign or faint. He floats in the dispute, flies off from consistency, and wants either force or direction." Collier, II. 139.

[c] "None of the prelates, warmly as they might be attached to their own opinions, aspired to the palm of martyrdom. They possessed little of that firmness of mind, of that high and unbending spirit, which generally characterises the leaders of religious parties; but were always ready to suppress, or even abjure, their real sentiments at the command of their wayward and imperious master. If, on the one hand, Gardiner and his associates, to avoid the royal displeasure, consented to renounce the Papal supremacy, and to subscribe to every successive innova-

At this time Cromwell, the Vicar-general, promulgated some injunctions for the regulation of

tion in the established creed; Cranmer and his friends, on the other, submitted, with equal weakness, to teach doctrines which they disapproved, to practise a worship which they deemed idolatrous or superstitious, and to consign men to the stake for the open profession of tenets, which, *there is reason to suspect*, they themselves inwardly believed." (Lingard.) Such is the apology which a modern Romanist offers for the inconsistency displayed by the leaders of his party at the time of the Reformation. It amounts to this: if the Papists were but indifferent, the Protestants, at all events, were no better. But if the matter be examined, it will appear, that in these words, justice has been done to neither party, but especially not to the Reformers. Gardiner and Tunstall were indeed never tried so far as to be called to the stake; but in King Edward's reign they suffered the loss of station and liberty, rather than make an unqualified surrender of their religious principles. In the following reign Cranmer and Latimer became martyrs. Nor is it fair to charge the Romish leaders with deliberate hypocrisy in owning the royal supremacy. In those days Romanism and the Papacy were not thought to be inseparably connected; and the principal circumstance which exposes the sincerity of the two prelates to doubt as to the renunciations which they made, is the readiness with which they returned to their Italian servitude on the accession of Mary. But it is fair to suppose, that during the intervening period, they might have satisfied themselves of the advantage resulting to their cause from its dependence upon an acknowledged chief: a fact of which, perhaps, they were not duly sensible before. Nor again is it strictly true, that these prelates were willing to subscribe to every innovation in the established creed; for they resisted those innovations to the utmost of their power when their Protestant character had become indisputably evident. The reason why their opposition was not earlier, and more strenuous, must probably be sought in the existing state of the Romish religion, in which the claims of tradition, to be considered as a ground of faith, were yet undefined. Hence

ecclesiastical affairs. By these a large proportion of those holidays by which industry was impeded, and the morals of men debauched, was abolished[d];

Romanists, especially in their disputes with the Reformers, were precluded from building their reasonings upon any other foundation than that of Scripture, and were necessarily obliged to abandon such principles or usages as could not be established by a reference to the Sacred Volume. But if the historian's view of his own sect be unfair, that which he has taken of the opposite party is far more so: there is no reason whatever to believe, that "they submitted to teach doctrines which they disapproved." The articles published this year make the contrary sufficiently certain. All the clergy were enjoined to teach these doctrines, and it is not to be supposed that the Reformers disapproved them, since they were their own doctrines, derived almost entirely from the Confession of Augsburg. Nor can it be said with truth, that they consented "to practise a worship which they deemed superstitious;" since, it is known, that they procured the royal condemnation of many popular superstitions: of course the Reformers did not continue in the practice of the condemned usages, whatever other people might do. Still less is there "reason to suspect," that the Protestant prelates had adopted the Zuinglian doctrine of the Eucharist: on the contrary, it is capable of proof, that both Cranmer and Latimer believed in transubstantiation, not only until the end of Henry's reign, but also until some time after the accession of Edward.

[d] Even Persons, the Jesuit, admits, that holidays, under the Romish system, were too numerous. He says of them: "Few, and well kept, were much better than many with hurt to the commonwealth, and dissolution of manners. It is no small temporal loss for poor labouring men, that live and maintain their families upon the labours of their hands, to have so great a number of vacant days, as in some countries there be, whereby the poor are brought to great necessity, and the realm hindered in things that otherwise might be done; and corruption of manners, by idleness, much increased." A Memorial of the Reformation (i. e. Relapse into Popery) of England, by R. P. 1596.

the royal supremacy was to be inculcated in sermons, as well as the terms of man's acceptance with God, according to the Articles of Religion lately published; the people were to be instructed, that it is folly to place a reliance upon images, relics, or pretended miracles; and that, instead of regarding such vanities, they should labour to keep God's commandments, and should spend upon their families what these superstitions had been used to consume; parents were to be admonished to teach their children the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, in the vernacular tongue. Other injunctions related to the ecclesiastics themselves, and one of them was most important. Every parson or proprietary was to place in the choir of his church a Bible, in Latin and English, for the use of all who might wish to read it[e]; pastoral duties were to be performed with propriety; an incumbent, licensed to absent himself from his benefice, was to supply his own place by a learned curate; clergymen were interdicted from gaming, and from frequenting houses of public entertainment; they were enjoined to set a good example to the laity; all non-resident beneficed men and dignitaries, able to spend 20l. a year, were to give a fortieth part of their income annually to the poor, in the pre-

[e] This book, which was to be *the whole Bible*, was to be provided by the first of August. People were to be encouraged to read this book, but were to be warned against deducing matter for disputation from it, and were to refer the explanation of difficult passages to the learned.

sence of the church-wardens; and all who could spend 100l. a year were to maintain an exhibitioner at one of the universities; all ecclesiastical persons, having dilapidated residences, were to devote the fifth part of their revenues to the repair of such buildings, until they were rendered substantial; and, lastly, those who should disobey these injunctions, were threatened with suspension, and with the sequestration of their respective benefices [f].

[f] Foxe, 1000.

CHAPTER VII.

Irritation caused by the suppression of the smaller monasteries—The Lincolnshire insurrection—Suppressed—The pilgrimage of grace—its progress—Measures of the government—The King's manifesto—Aske invited to court—Renewal of the insurrection—Conduct of the King of Scotland—Pole sent to tamper with the malcontents—The German Protestants decline the authority of the council expected to meet at Mantua—Which is deferred—The Institution of a Christen Man compiled—Some account of it—Opposition excited by the order to discontinue certain festivals—Cranmer's disregard of St. Thomas of Canterbury's eve—The Archbishop represents the ill effects resulting from the reluctance of the courtiers to disregard the abolished holidays—His contempt of the calumnies uttered by an ignorant priest—An authorised English Bible published—Application of the publishers for an exclusive privilege—Birth of Prince Edward.

In the course of the summer, the act for the suppression of the smaller monasteries came into full operation, and those "monuments of ancient devotion," as Lord Herbert styles them, were every where seized for the purpose of being converted to secular uses. The progress of this innovation was viewed by the mass of the people with very little satisfaction. The mind of man generally clings to any object with which it has been long familiar; and hence the population around a monastery saw with displeasure and concern the dispersion of its valuable effects, and the conversion of its venerable structures into the residence of a

private family. Nor could those who had occupied land under a monastic tenure, think without uneasiness of being transferred to the more strict management of a lay landlord; or could the superstitious regard without indignation and horror the desecration of objects which they had been used to venerate; or could those who valued the hospitality and charity of convents, place any firm reliance in the continuance of these benefits by the grantees of the conventual estates. To these natural causes of dissatisfaction, was added the moving spectacle presented by the ejected friars and nuns, of whom numbers were roaming about the country, and exciting the passions of men by tales of fictitious or merited hardship. It was, indeed, true that the secularisation of these persons was voluntary; and that the suppression of their houses was justified by reports of depravity discovered in them. The more effectually to convince men of this, thirty-one convents were founded anew by the King[a]; and thus, it might be said, that, according to the promise of the visitors, societies of blameless character had been recommended to his Majesty's favourable notice. But these rare exceptions did not content the people, irritated as they were by the dissolution of establishments, the continuance of which they felt bound to desire by all the ties of interest and prejudice. In this state of the popular mind, it was in vain to circulate accounts of iniquities de-

[a] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 347.

tected among the religious: such statements were either disbelieved or explained away; and the indignation naturally excited by them, was transferred from the convents to the visitors, who were openly charged with unblushing falsehood and corruption. Another source of disgust was afforded to the ignorant population from the Book of Articles, and the Vicar-general's injunctions recently published. These were considered as innovations upon the Catholic faith, which must soon, if unresisted, overwhelm the country in a mass of heretical opinions [b]. During the busiest season of agricultural labour, the popular discontent was repressed by more absorbing cares; but when the close of harvest afforded a long respite from the principal rustic employments, angry discussion upon recent changes excited among the village communities a ferment which augured no security to the public peace.

This state of irritation first broke out in open violence in Lincolnshire, at a meeting holden at the beginning of October, for the purpose of assessing upon individuals the subsidy of a fifteenth granted to the crown by the last Parliament [c]. It was, perhaps, impolitic in the government to impose this unwelcome exaction at a period when a considerable degree of uneasiness could hardly fail of pervading the nation; and, certainly, thereby was thrown a considerable advantage into the hands of those turbulent persons who are

[b] Godwin, Annal. 60. [c] Ibid.

ready to urge the popular discontent into acts of open outrage, whenever the ruling powers are involved in difficulty. The unenviable distinction of taking the lead in the work of mischief, fell upon this occasion to Dr. Mackrel, recently the prior of Barlings, a convent now suppressed. For the conduct of a man ejected from a respectable appointment, and, possibly, suffering some degree of unexpected privation, considerable allowances are fairly demandable; but still, this martial monk furnished an irresistible proof, that many bold and active spirits had been compelled to waste within the precincts of a cloister those faculties which were only fitted for a more public and active scene. Mackrel himself appeared conscious of committing some inconsistency in emerging from the seclusion of a monastic life, to assume the command of a discontented peasantry in arms. He stripped off the monkish garb, and assuming in its stead the dress of a mechanic, became known by the familiar name of Captain Cobler[a]. To his standard flocked crowds of those idle, discontented, or disorderly persons, who, from the desire of novelty, plunder, or mischief, ever lend a willing ear to any bold incendiary. According to the practice usual at the beginning of popular tumults, these Lincolnshire insurgents assumed an appearance of modesty in their carriage, and of

[a] Thus ludicrously described by Bale in Ponce Pantolabus, a humorous controversial tract printed at Geneva in 1545: "Captain Cobler, that valeant George on horseback, with his Lyncolneshire bowes and bagpipes."

moderation in their demands. They transmitted to the King, in very respectful language, a statement of the causes which had aroused their spirit of resistance. These were, the suppression of so many convents, some restrictions upon testamentary bequests, the subsidy of a fifteenth then demanded, the admission of low-born advisers among the royal counsellors, the subversion of the faith by some of the bishops[e], and apprehensions lest the system of spoliation by which the monasteries had already suffered so severely, should soon be extended even to the parish churches. For the redress of these grievances, and the quieting of these apprehensions, they humbly besought his Majesty to assemble the nobility, and in concert with them to devise some expedients, whereby the royal supremacy, which they acknowledged to be the indefeasible right of the crown, might be rendered generally acceptable to the people; relief might be supplied in cases requiring it; and first-fruits and tenths be exacted from no benefices of an annual value below twenty pounds, unless their incumbents should not reside upon them[f]. It being justly thought that an answer to this application would be more respected if accompanied by an armed force, the Duke of Suffolk was charged to levy troops, and to proceed

[e] They complained, that four Sacraments being already taken away, they might expect soon to lose the remaining three. Halle.

[f] Herbert, 205.

with all haste into Lincolnshire. At the same time was sent the royal reply to the demands of the insurgents. This state-paper was drawn up in the most arrogant and irritating terms. "How presumptuous are ye," the monarch was made to say, "the rude commons of one shire, and that the most brute and beastly of the whole realm, and of the least experience, to find fault with your prince for the electing of his counsellors and prelates[g]! To choose his advisers is the sovereign's business, not yours. As for the suppression of monasteries, it was ordered by the Parliament, not by the ministry, and was rendered necessary by the wickedness detected in those establishments; nor can it seem otherwise than most disgraceful, that you should choose to see the conventual revenues wasted upon supporting a few dissolute persons in riot and idleness, rather than vested in the crown for the benefit of the whole community." The other demands transmitted to the court were treated in the same insolent and haughty style. In conclusion, the rebels were ordered to make an instant submission, to surrender their leaders, with a hundred others, as victims for punishment, then to disperse, and behave like good subjects.

This rash and overbearing reply was exactly what the artful leaders of the sedition desired. They immediately represented to their followers, that, from a government which could thus insult

[g] Halle.

the people's feelings, nothing was to be expected short of the most odious tyranny: it was to be supposed that the Christian religion itself would not long be established, even in name; that men would soon be prohibited from marriage, from all the consolations of religion, or perhaps from regaling themselves with a roasted joint of meat, until they should have paid some arbitrary tax for the enjoyment of such a privilege. If, therefore, it was added, they would escape from oppression likely to prove more galling than any that even Turkish slaves would endure from their despotic rulers, the time to struggle for deliverance was now arrived; since, not only was gross injustice to be resisted, but also those who should spill their blood in the cause, would attain the glory of dying martyrs to their holy faith. The Duke of Suffolk was soon secretly apprized of the ill effects resulting from the King's haughty message, by some persons of superior condition then with the insurgents, but who, despairing of success, were now desirous of making peace with the government. He therefore sent an intimation to the court, that menaces and insults would only keep for a longer time in arms an irritated and disorderly band, which, on receiving a promise of impunity, would quickly melt away. Not only did Suffolk's personal knowledge of the facts give weight to his representations, but also the intelligence of a much more formidable insurrection then bursting forth to the northward, enforced the obvious policy of quieting the Lincolnshire

commotion without unnecessary harshness or delay. Accordingly, a proclamation was now issued, couched in moderate language, commanding the multitude to disperse immediately, and exposing the dangers of disobedience. To this were added private assurances of an indemnity, and reports, that, notwithstanding the inclemency of the approaching season, and the badness of the roads, the heavy artillery was preparing for the field, and the King might be expected to take the command of his troops in person. By these means, the hopes and fears of the insurgents were so violently excited, that they readily listened to those gentlemen among them who were now only anxious to escape from their rash undertaking without farther hazard of their lives and fortunes. The bulk of the multitude, therefore, acknowledged themselves to blame, agreed to obey the recent acts of Parliament, surrendered their arms, and quietly retired to a winter's meditation on their folly by their own fire-sides. The more guilty, daring, and desperate of the rebels, felt that this inglorious end of their sedition was neither endurable nor safe. Their course, accordingly, was shaped to the northward, where turbulence, audacity, and fanaticism, were raising such a conflagration as evidently would not easily be extinguished, unless by measures at once prompt and energetic[h].

The northern counties, being distant from the

[h] Herbert, 205.

chief seats of knowledge and refinement, as well as being liable to become the theatre of war from their vicinity to Scotland, were chiefly peopled by a bold and superstitious race of men, whose intellects had continued stationary amidst the improvements of their age, and who, therefore, generally viewed the revival of that scriptural religion which was unknown to their immediate progenitors with unmitigated horror and disgust. These overpowering feelings were carefully fostered by their clergy, who, although they might not dare to advocate Popery openly from the pulpit, took care to insinuate the excellence of that deeply-rooted system into the minds of their congregations by means of confessions[1]. When, at length, the monasteries were suppressed, and the popular discontent was exasperated by the tax-gatherer's demand of the subsidy recently granted, the general feeling could no longer be restrained, and the hardy peasantry burned to atchieve by valour in the field a deliverance from those uneasinesses which ignorance, artifice, and bigotry, had rendered insupportable. Many of the more considerable persons in the country observed with satisfaction the gathering of the storm; for they shared the feelings of their humbler neighbours: but the natural reluctance of man to risk the possession of ease and affluence,

[1] "Dr. Pickeringe, and other prelates, did little other for two years' space but move the prestes of the North to provoke the people, in their Lent confessions to the pilgrimage of grace, against the King and his council." Bale's Ponce Pantolabus.

restrained them from stepping forward to encourage the movements of the populace. The discontented were, however, no sooner ripe for rebellion, than they found a leader. Robert Aske[k], a man of some property in Yorkshire, raised the standard of revolt, and he quickly found himself surrounded by a multitude of partizans. To secure the approbation to his enterprise of every ignorant bigot in the country, it was denominated a pilgrimage of grace. Priests bearing crosses led the vanguard of his army: his colours shewed, on one side, a figure of the crucified Redeemer; on the other, of the consecrated wafer and chalice: on the sleeves of his troops were wrought the five wounds, with the name of Jesus inserted in the midst of them. All who joined the insurgents were required to swear, that they entered upon the pilgrimage for the love of God, for the preservation of the King's person and issue, for the purifying of the nobility from villain blood, and for the expulsion of evil advisers from the royal counsels; not for any personal advantage, the gratification of any envious or vindictive feeling, but only with a view of allaying popular discontent, of testifying a trust in the cross and faith of

[k] "The chiefest in that conspiracy was a certain lawyer, whose name was Aske; a man of base parentage, yet of marvellous stomach and boldness." (Extract from a journal kept by the monks of St. Austin's, Canterbury. Strype, Eccl. Mem. I. 472.) Bale says of Aske, in his satirical way, that "he was no small doer in that pilgrimage, though he had but one eye." Ponce Pantolabus.

Christ, of restoring the Church, and of suppressing heresy. By means of these specious professions, by their formidable numbers, and by the employment of menaces where persuasions had proved unsuccessful, the self-called pilgrims soon found their ranks dignified by the presence of many persons in superior life. The assemblage first displayed its power in restoring to their convents the religious who had been lately turned adrift upon the world. Some of the nobility residing in the North hastily levied forces, and endeavoured to stem the torrent of insurrectionary boldness. But in vain: everywhere the contagion spread; the beacon fires glared from the mountain summits, and the northern counties were traversed in all directions by bands of discontented peasants, hastening to join the warlike pilgrimage[1].

Aske soon found himself sufficiently strong to venture upon offensive operations, and he began by summoning the garrison of Pontefract Castle to surrender. That fortress appeared sufficiently able to sustain a siege; but, notwithstanding, its gates were quickly opened to the assailants; a circumstance attributed by some to the presence of the Archbishop of York, and Lord Darcy, who had taken refuge within its walls. To these distinguished inmates the oath by which the self-called pilgrims were bound, was then tendered. The Archbishop spoke with disapprobation of

[1] Herbert, 205.

their enterprize: "pilgrimages," he said, "ought to be encouraged; but as to warlike pilgrimages, he certainly could not consider them entitled to his good regards." However, neither he nor Darcy refused the oath, after having made a decent shew of reluctance. The cause of the insurgents being thus strengthened by the accession of these two distinguished associates, proceeded prosperously. York and Hull yielded to their arms, and the whole country appeared friendly to their views. In order to confirm this unanimity, artifice was industriously employed. As the co-operation of the populace is seldom steadily continued, unless enforced by personal considerations, absurd reports, similar to those which had been spread in Lincolnshire, were set afloat among the peasantry to the north of the Humber. Government, it was said, intended to oblige every man to deposit his gold in the Tower of London; to claim all unmarked cattle as a royal perquisite; to seize the ornaments of churches; to impose a tax upon the offices of religion; and to make those provide themselves with licences who chose to eat white bread, or the more delicate kinds of animal food. Ridiculous as were such statements, the feverish state of the popular mind gained credit for them, and the rebellion grew more formidable every day; so that within a few weeks of its commencement, it was supported by thirty thousand men in arms. In the hope of dispersing this dangerous assemblage, George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, sent a herald, with a proclamation, to the martial

pilgrims, while Aske still remained in Pontefract Castle. The rebel chief received the messenger in state, having the Archbishop of York on one side, and Lord Darcy on the other; but when he had heard the proclamation read, he refused to allow its circulation among his troops. The northern counties, indeed, appeared wholly at his discretion. It was only in two instances that he seems to have encountered any effectual opposition. Henry Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, though deserted by five hundred of his followers, refused to open the gates of Skipton Castle at the summons of the rebels; and Sir Ralph Evers, distressed as he was for provisions, gallantly endured a siege of six and twenty days continuance in the castle of Scarborough.

In those times no regular military force was placed at the disposal of the crown, and therefore a commotion so extensive as that under Aske occasioned considerable embarrassment to the government. Measures were however taken as effectual as circumstances would allow, with all despatch. The Earl of Shrewsbury had levied troops, upon his own responsibility, at the commencement of the tumult. To him an indemnity was immediately forwarded, accompanied with a commission to retain his followers in arms. From the South advanced the Duke of Norfolk, and the Marquess of Exeter, with such forces as could be hastily levied. Under these three noble commanders were altogether about five thousand men, a number fearfully disproportioned to that of the

rebels; but then the royal army was far better supplied with all the materials for warfare. To overawe the country in their rear, the Duke of Suffolk received orders to remain in Lincolnshire; and the King having announced his intention of taking the field in person, appointed Northampton as a place of rendezvous, at which the nobility, at the head of their armed followers, were ordered to appear on the seventh of November. Meanwhile, it being thought advisable to check the military pilgrimage in its advances to the southward, the royal commanders moved their small, but well appointed force, upon Doncaster. The two armies there were separated by the river Don, which could be passed at two points only, the one, a bridge within the town, the other, a ford at a little distance. The bridge was guarded by cannon, which the rebels had not the means of meeting: to the ford was despatched, from the Royalists, as efficient a force as could be spared. But the insurgents possessed so conspicuously the advantage in point of numbers, that they determined not to be deterred from fording the river by the fear of any opposition likely to be encountered on the southern bank. However, in the night preceding the day fixed for their attempt, a violent rain so much raised the stream, that returning day-light shewed it to be impassable. This incident gave time to the Duke of Norfolk, and he endeavoured to improve it by negociation. He had already opened a secret correspondence with some gentlemen among the in-

surgents, and by their means he persuaded Aske to transmit a petition to the King, and to remain inactive until he should learn its result. Sir Ralph Elecker, and Robert Bowes, who unwillingly, according to their own account, had joined the pilgrimage, were appointed to carry this petition to court; whither they proceeded, in company with the Duke of Norfolk. The truce, which was to continue during the absence of their delegates, produced, as was foreseen, a most injurious effect upon the rebel army. The excitement naturally flowing from a triumphant advance, was succeeded by the dispiriting languor of a forced inactivity: the spectacle of a country prostrate at their feet, was exchanged for that of an opposing host, far better appointed than their own, and certain of reinforcements. In order to increase the gloom which thus settled upon the warlike pilgrims, a rumour was industriously spread among them, that the pending negociation was merely a device of the gentlemen, who wanted to make their own terms with the government, but were careless of the doom which might await their poor neighbours. Besides these mental uneasinesses, the insurgents found themselves exposed to very considerable hardships: in order to maintain a friendly understanding with the surrounding country, plunder had been strictly forbidden, and, in consequence, the bulk of the men observed, with some dismay, that although they had reached the edge of winter, they were but very miserably prepared to meet the rigours of the season.

Having thus become a prey to irksomeness and apprehension, the pilgrims began to grow dissatisfied with their enterprize, and every night numerous desertions lessened the importance of this once formidable insurrection.

The King being informed of this, and being anxious to try the effect of farther delay, would not at first allow the delegates to return, and privately countermanded the muster expected at Northampton. However, the detention of their messengers revived the irritation of the insurgents, and therefore the two gentlemen were sent back to Doncaster. Norfolk also returned, charged with a commission to open a treaty in that town with the enemy, from whose army three hundred individuals were to be allured by a safe-conduct into the royal camp, for the ostensible purpose of explaining the causes which had led them to appear in arms. The true reason, however, why it was proposed to hold a conference so numerously attended, was the expectation that, among so many, it would be found possible to shake the fidelity of several. The execution of this project was delayed by the refusal of his followers to trust Aske within the town of Doncaster, until they had received hostages to guarantee his return. When this difficulty was reported to the King, he said at once, "I know no gentleman or other, whom I esteem so little as to put him in pledge for such a villain." In the mean time was circulated among the rebels the offer of a pardon, on condition of their immediate dispersion. As, however, from

this act of royal clemency six individuals were excluded by name, and four others were to be afterwards debarred, at the option of the crown, every man reasoned, that it might be his fate to be selected as a victim to the law, and therefore the proclamation took no effect. At length the commissioners on the part of the insurgents were admitted into Doncaster [m], where they demanded a general indemnity, the assembling of a parliament in the North, the establishment of a judicature there which should excuse all people beyond the Trent from journeying to London on legal business; a repeal of the act granting the recent subsidy, of that for misprision of treason, and of that bestowing first fruits and tenths upon the crown; a restoration of the Lady Mary to legitimacy, of the Pope to his former jurisdiction, and of the religious to their convents, a persecution of the Lutherans, the exclusion from the next Parliament of Cromwell and the Chancellor Audley, and the imprisonment of Leigh, with his colleague Leighton, for bribery and corruption in their visitation of the northern monasteries. The lately rejected demands of the Lincolnshire insurgents were modest in comparison with these: accordingly, they received a peremptory refusal. On this the rebels again prepared for war: some of their late associates who had retired expressed their readiness to join the standard of revolt once more; and it seemed most probable, that the re-

[m] December 6. Herbert, 206.

establishment of the royal authority must at last be left to the issue of a battle. Norfolk's situation became critical; he expected that his handful of men would, after all, be obliged to oppose such obstacles, as lay in their power, to the passage of the enemy over the Don. But again the elements favoured the royal cause; and the pilgrims observed with dismay, that on the second time when they had resolved to ford the stream, it had suddenly risen so as to render their design impracticable. Then did their superstitious minds yield to a desponding impression, that the pilgrimage of grace had lost the divine protection. As, however, spirits which sink at trifles, are by trifles raised again, Norfolk did his utmost to impress upon the administration the policy of appeasing immediately this dangerous commotion by some concessions. Accordingly, the book of Articles, recently sanctioned by the Convocation, was diligently circulated, and the clergy were strictly ordered to be particular in observing those Romish ceremonies, which so powerfully affect weak and superstitious minds. But the cause which effected the dismemberment of this turbulent assemblage, was the arrival of a general indemnity, granted under the great seal at Richmond, on the ninth of December, and immediately forwarded to Doncaster, together with his Majesty's answer to the demands made by the insurgents.

In this paper Henry addressed his mutinous subjects in the first person, and the composition bears evident marks of his own pen. "As touch-

ing the faith," he said, "your terms be so general, that it would be very hard to make certain answer to the same: but if ye mean the faith of Christ, to the which only all Christians are bound, we declare and protest ourself to be that prince, that doth intend, and hath always minded to live and die in the maintenance, defence, and observation of the same in its purity. Nor can or dare any man to set his foot by ours in proving of the contrary. We, therefore, marvel much that ignorant people should take upon themselves to instruct us, which hath been noted something learned, what the faith should be, and to correct what we and our whole clergy have declared." The King then proceeded to find fault with their want of precision in speaking of the Church and its liberties; but he asserted, that whatever might be the Church to which they referred, he certainly had done nothing in any ecclesiastical matter contrary to divine or human laws, or injurious to the commonwealth, or not justified by precedents in former reigns. These assertions were thus concluded: "Wherefore we cannot but reckon it a great unkindness and unnaturalness in our commons, which had liever a churl or twain should enjoy those profits of their monasteries for the supportation and maintenance of abominable life, than that we, their prince, should receive the same, towards our extreme charges done and daily sustained for their defence against foreign enemies." With respect to legislation, the insurgents were told, that blind men might as well pre-

tend to judge of colours, as such persons of government. His choice of advisers Henry condescended to justify, concluding with this remark: "We, with our whole council, think it right strange, that ye, which be but brutes and inexpert folk, do take upon you to appoint us who be meet for our council, and who not." As to the irreligious and illegal acts objected to some individuals about the court, his Majesty professed his disbelief of them, but added, that if such allegations were proved, the offending parties should be punished. At length, after contemptuously adverting to the demagogues who had excited the rebellion, Henry thus concluded: "What arrogance then is in those wretches, being also of none experience, to presume to raise you our subjects without commission or authority; yea and against us, under a cloaked colour of your wealth, and in our name, and as the success and end would declare, if we should not be more merciful unto you than you have deserved, to your own utter confusion! Wherefore we let all you, our said subjects, again wit, that were not our princely heart unable to reckon this your shameful insurrection, and most ingrate and unnatural rebellion, to be done of malice or rancour, but rather, by a lightness in manner, given by a naughty nature to commonalty, and a wondrous sudden surreption of gentlemen, we must needs have executed another manner of punishment, than if you will humbly acknowledge your fault, and submit yourselves

to our mercy, we intend to do; as by our proclamations we doubt not ye be informed."

This overbearing reply was received in silence; and the people, weary of their enterprize, were satisfied with being allowed to revisit their homes without molestation. The King himself, pleased with having quelled a formidable insurrection upon such easy terms, found it prudent to dissemble his resentment, and even condescended to withdraw Aske from the scene of his dangerous importance, by overlooking the villainy recently discovered in him, and inviting him to court[n]. In truth it was then necessary to use great forbearance towards the warlike and superstitious population of the North; for although the pilgrimage had ended in such a manner as to disappoint the hopes, and check the spirit of the peasantry, it had by no means reconciled them to the revival of a more scriptural faith. The clergy continued to condemn those reforms which had been forced upon their acceptance; and thus the irritation of the people, though smothered, was not allowed to subside. In order to overawe this spirit of discontent, the royal commanders were enjoined to remain in the country, and to keep their troops in readiness for action; the religious were again ejected from their convents; orders were given for the apprehension of all seditious persons; and

[n] Where, Halle says, the King gave him "apparel and great rewards."

the most unqualified submission to authority was every where enforced.

However, the efficacy of all these expedients proved to be only temporary. The people gradually recovered from their panic, and began to exclaim, that they had been deluded into submission by expectations which they were encouraged to form, but in which it was intended to disappoint them. Especially were they indignant when they heard nothing about the meeting of a Parliament in the North; a measure upon which they had calculated for the gratification of their desires. To increase their dissatisfaction, it became known that Aske, their late leader, was detained about the King's person in a sort of honourable imprisonment; since, though not actually in durance, he had pledged himself not to remove from court without his Majesty's permission: a grace little likely to be granted in the existing posture of affairs. Lord Darcy also, who compulsorily, according to appearances, joined the pilgrimage at Pontefract Castle, was ordered to wait upon the King. This venerable peer, having then attained the age of eighty, urged that circumstance as a reason for desiring to be excused from the fatigues of a long journey; but in vain; he found himself obliged to make his appearance in London. He was soon after committed to the Tower, as was Lord Hussey, upon a charge of favouring the Lincolnshire insurrection.

These various circumstances revived the agitation of the North; and once more the sullenness

of discontent was exchanged for open outrage. Nicholas Musgrave, and Thomas Tilby, two gentlemen of Cumberland, brought into the field eight thousand men, and attempted to carry, by a sudden assault, the strongly fortified city of Carlisle. But the enterprize proved above their means. In their retreat, the Duke of Norfolk met them, gave them battle, and, after a decisive victory, made a terrible example of his most distinguished prisoners. Musgrave had the good fortune to escape; but most of the other leaders who survived the action, together with seventy unfortunates of inferior note, were hanged, by the sentence of a court-martial, from the battlements of Carlisle walls. About the same time, Sir Francis Bigot, and a gentleman named Halam, attempted to surprise Hull; but they failed, and, with their lives, paid the forfeit of their temerity. The news of these commotions rendered Aske uneasy under his constrained and inglorious attendance upon the court. He privately made his escape from London, and repaired to his former associates. But his motions were observed, and he was quickly brought back to the seat of government: no longer, however, as an honourable prisoner at large, but as an incorrigible traitor, who must undergo the rigours of imprisonment until he could answer for his crimes. A like unhappy fate overtook several gentlemen of consequence in the North; who, being convicted, were sent down into their own neighbourhoods for execution. Aske was hanged at York. The two peers, Darcy

and Hussey, were tried in Westminster Hall, and found guilty of treason. The former asserted on his trial, that the Duke of Norfolk had secretly encouraged the insurgents: this, however, the noble commander denied, and his services had been so important, that his accuser received but little attention. The aged peer was soon after executed upon Tower Hill. Lord Hussey met his fate at Lincoln, in order that those who had been subject to his influence, and who shared his crime, might witness his punishment. Among those who underwent the penalties of the law in consequence of the late rebellion, were six priors, of whom one, at all events, the notorious Dr. Mackrel, will be thought, by every man of sense and candour, whatever be his religious sentiments, to have suffered justly [o]. By these severities, the spirits of the northern malcontents were completely broken: their opinions had not indeed undergone any change, but they no longer dared to think of supporting them by force; and when, in July, a general amnesty from the King arrived, there was no district beyond the Trent in which it was not received with sincere satisfaction [p].

While the flames of revolt raged through the northern counties, Romish zealots in the south looked on with satisfaction: from some of the richer abbots, secret encouragement and pecu-

[o] He was executed at Tyburn. Holinshed.

[p] Herbert, 212.

niary supplies were transmitted to the revolters[q]; and besides this underhand support, a considerable commotion was excited in Somersetshire, which, however, was quickly suppressed[r]. This apparent apathy of the Romanists, through more than one half of England, arose from the little prospect of obtaining foreign assistance. At almost any other time, it is not to be doubted that the King of Scotland would have eagerly seized an opportunity of fomenting a rebellion which had broken out on his own frontiers in the territories of his ancient enemy. But while the north of England was convulsed by civil dissention, James was enjoying the elegant festivities of Paris, whither he had gone for the purpose of marrying Magdalen, daughter of the French King[s]. He returned to his own dominions before the embers of discord among his neighbours were wholly extinguished; and overtures were made to him by some of the malcontents during his passage homeward. But James, after an absence of considerable length from his own kingdom, was returning with a bride favourable to the Reformation, from a court bound by policy to support the English.

[q] Bale, in his Ponce Pantolabus, has preserved a list of these "spirituall captaynes," as he calls them, and among them he places the abbots of Reading and Colchester.

[r] Godwin, Annal. 64.

[s] Whom he married in the cathedral of Notre Dame, on the 1st of January, 1537. He did not land at Leith until May 5. On the 5th of the following July his Queen died. Ellis's Letters, II. 107.

government; he therefore felt little inclination to embark at once in the hostile intrigues which tempted his notice, and he positively refused to aid the insurgents[t]. Upon his arrival in his capital, domestic uneasiness diverted his mind from foreign politics. His youthful Queen had shewn unequivocal symptoms of consumption in the milder air of France, and she soon sank under her malady when transferred to a more rigorous clime. But then Henry had crushed the spirit of revolt, and the season favourable for his nephew's interference had passed away.

The Pope and the Emperor had watched the English insurrection with no small pleasure, and had endeavoured to turn it to their own advantage. Pole was the instrument of which they made choice for the furtherance of their designs. That ecclesiastic, soon after the transmission of his libellous book to his sovereign, had gone, regardless of the advice and entreaties addressed to him from friends and relatives in England, to the papal court, where he was received with much distinction, and created a cardinal[u]. As it was now certain that his endeavours would be inva-

[t] Herbert, 212.

[u] His biographer Phillips says, that he was unwilling to accept this honour, and that he consented to receive it only because the Pope was not to be diverted from his purpose: an English Protestant can hardly fail of being reminded, by this account, of the different degree of importance which Pole appears to have attached to the commands of the Pope, and to those of his native sovereign.

riably directed by the enemies of his country, he was stripped of the preferments which, though not in full orders, his royal kinsman had conferred upon him, and declared a traitor. To that designation he now substantiated his claims. He allowed himself to be sent by the Pope into the Low Countries as legate of the Roman see, in order, as it was considered, that he might be sufficiently near to encourage and support the English insurgents*. Before he started upon this errand, his Holiness supplied him with the following credentials: the first was a manifesto to the English nation, in which Paul applauded the rebellion, and exhorted the seditious to respect the legate whom he had sent to sanction their enterprise: the second was a letter to the King of Scotland, in which that monarch was admonished to back the cardinal's influence among his countrymen: the third

* Phillips, with amusing *naiveté*, thus describes the objects of Pole's journey to the Low Countries: "That, being in the neighbourhood of England, he might with greater certainty be informed of the dispositions of the nation; exert that influence which his royal descent, and the great authority he still had, gave him; and if the situation of affairs was such as to make his going over to that kingdom adviseable, the journey was left to his discretion." Dr. Lingard is more reserved. He says, "Pole accepted, about Christmas, the dignity of cardinal, and before two months was elapsed, was unexpectedly named to a *very delicate but dangerous mission*." Probably, if the historian's business had been to describe the treason of some Protestant divine, he would have spared this circumlocution. Halle uses a little more English freedom in speaking of his degenerate contemporary: he describes him as "that arch traitor, enemy to God's word, and his natural country."

was a letter to the King of France, tending to the same end: the fourth was addressed to the Dowager Queen of Hungary, Regent of the Low Countries, whom, after reminding of the indignities suffered by her aunt, Catharine of Aragon, it enjoined to promote Pole's objects. However, it so happened, that the whole affair tended only to expose those who engaged in it. The legate left Rome early in the year with a splendid train, and proceeded through France towards the region marked out as the theatre of his operations. No sooner, however, had he crossed the Alps than his expectations received a check: at Lyons, he learnt, with no great pleasure, that the insurgents had been defeated, and some of those gentlemen upon whom he reckoned as correspondents, executed[y]. This mortifying intelligence was the prelude to farther chagrins. The King of England, apprized of Pole's commission, had applied to Francis, either to prevent him from passing through France, or to seize him as a traitor to his prince, and deliver him up to the English authorities; or, at all events, not to receive him as legate. The French monarch chose to adopt the course last named. Accordingly, though the cardinal was allowed to gratify the Parisian populace by a splendid entrance into the capital, he found the court out of town, and received a civil message from the sovereign, informing him, that he could not be recognised in any public capacity in France,

[y] These unfortunate persons are styled "martyrs" by Sanders.

nor have any audience of the King, nor even be suffered to stay in the country. He was then conducted, with all due haste and politeness, to Cambray, where new disappointments awaited him. The Queen Regent had been informed, that if she should receive the distinguished Englishman, her conduct would be considered as an infraction of the treaty subsisting between Henry and the Low Countries: she was not, however, prepared for hostilities, and therefore she begged of the legate not to proceed any farther in the territories entrusted to her governance, being under the necessity of declining the honour of a visit from him at Brussels. The cardinal thus found himself unable to advance beyond Cambray, a city in which he remained six weeks closely watched, and, of course, not enabled to effect any business of importance[z]. On finding this, he removed to Liege, where, after residing three months, he became fully convinced that his prospects of rendering any present services to the papal cause were completely hopeless, and therefore he, in November, returned to Italy[a].

[z] It is plain from the following passage, that Pole did not wholly fail in opening a correspondence with the disaffected party in England. Lord Herbert, (210.) after detailing the obstructions placed in his way by the Queen Regent, thus proceeds: "So that he was forced to hold his correspondence in England by more clandestine means: whereof, as also his other proceedings, his servant Throgmorton, and one friar Peto, certified some part, *as I find by our Records.*"

[a] These particulars have been drawn from the work of Phillips, who, notwithstanding, thus speaks of his hero: "As grati-

In Germany, the opposition to the Romish Church continued with unabated force. The confederated Protestants met again at Smalcald at the beginning of the year, in order to concert measures for their common safety. As the Emperor was not prepared to crush their party by violent means, he had recourse to the arts of negociation. Heldus was sent to Smalcald, where he endeavoured to obtain from the confederates an engagement to refer their disputes to the council expected to be assembled at Mantua, and also to aid the Imperialists in an attack either upon the Turks or the French. As for the council, the Protestants replied, that it not being summoned by a proper authority, nor appointed to meet in Germany, they should pay no attention to it: with respect to furnishing the Emperor with pecuniary aid in the prosecution of his wars, they expressed their willingness to render him that service, if he would engage to molest them no farther on account of their religion. Henry

tude seems to have been a cardinal virtue of our illustrious countryman," of a man, namely, who returned substantial benefits by outrageous insults, and who, not contented with having vilified his munificent sovereign, sought to shake his throne, by lending himself to the purposes of domestic rebels and foreign enemies: as, however, Pole was sufficiently well-bred to receive with gentlemanly politeness the civilities offered to him by the Prince Bishop of Liege, his biographer at once ascribes to him an exalted sense of gratitude. By such commendations artfully bestowed, and unguardedly received, it has happened that a man of ordinary parts, and defective principles, has been exhibited to the world as one of the most estimable of his race.

confirmed their resolution, by sending to them two agents[b] in disguise, for the purpose of inducing them to reject, in the most unqualified manner, the proposed Mantuan council. Upon this subject no difficulty was made, and therefore it became evident to all Europe, that, if the council should actually meet, it would fail to restore the undisputed authority of the Papacy.

However, when the time appointed for the proposed meeting approached, an unexpected obstacle set it aside. The Duke of Mantua, not much relishing the prospect of having his capital filled by strangers, most of them subjects of princes much more powerful than himself, demanded of the Pope a sum of money for the maintenance of an additional armed force during the session of the divines. Paul did not object to the plan of providing Mantua with a larger garrison, nor did he decline to defray the expense likely to be thereby incurred; but he insisted upon his right to command the men whom he was required to pay. This, however, was a point which the Duke refused to concede, and on this account, the Pontiff being fairly furnished with a pretence for delay, the council was deferred until the following autumn, then to the next spring, and at last Vicenza, in the Venetian territories, was named for the meeting of the proposed assembly[c].

Paul had, indeed, endeavoured to supersede altogether the necessity for a council, by appoint-

[b] William Paget and Christopher Mount. Herbert, 210.

[c] Ibid. 211.

ing in the last year a committee of divines, charged with investigating such complaints as were brought against the Roman Church by her adversaries. Among the individuals named for this purpose was Pole, and his coadjutors were, like himself, zealously attached to the Popedom. The result of their labours was such as might be expected. All the doctrinal innovations of Popery were approved, and certain undeniable abuses in discipline alone were admitted to require amendment. Having thus made a few concessions to popular feeling, by recommending a stricter ecclesiastical discipline, the commissioners brought their business to a close, amidst the derision of the Protestant divines, even the most candid of whom now became sensible that nothing less was intended by the Romanists than a return to the faith; which was capable of being established by a reference to God's undoubted word alone[d]. However, the

[d] Phillips tells his readers, that Lord Herbert speaks favourably of this plan of reforming the Roman Church. As there is some truth in this, but very far from the whole truth, it may be worth while to transcribe the following passage from the noble historian's work: (211.) "Because by reason of these delays," (in assembling a general council,) "many doubted whether the Pope really intended a redress of the enormities then generally complained of, he resolved privately to proceed in a reformation a year since proposed. And this was a singular ingenuity. Yet as he referred the business to the Cardinals Contarino, Theatino, Sadolet, and Reginald Pool, and some others who were passionate on their own side, they produced, after many conferences, no more than a remonstrance of divers abuses in the government and administration of ecclesiastical persons and affairs; for in

Pontiff was determined to try the effect of carrying into execution some of the reforms lately recommended by his friends, in the hope that thus his own party, at all events, would remain satisfied even under an indefinite adjournment of the long desired general council.

While the Romish hierarchy were striving to maintain their influence over awakening Europe, by every imaginable expedient short of an investigation into the doctrines of their Church, the leading men in England were intent upon dispelling that thick cloud of spiritual and moral darkness which had long brooded over the country. For this purpose, by the intervention of Cromwell, a commission was issued from the King, authorising certain divines to compile a manual of religious knowledge for general use. The execution of this important object was entrusted to Archbishop Cranmer, to the Bishops, Stokesley of London, Gardiner of Winchester, Sampson of Chichester, Repps of Norwich, Goodrich of Ely, Latimer of Worcester, Shaxton of Salisbury, Fox of Hereford, Barlow of St. David's, with others of the episcopal order, and of the more eminent among the inferior clergy. Thus were all the prelates favourably disposed towards the Reformation employed in preparing the intended summary. Their operations were, indeed, impeded by Stokesley and Gardiner; but still the

the Church doctrines they would not admit an error. But there were few princes then living who would not have been glad that something more had been done."

Protestant party among the compilers was sufficiently strong to carry a large proportion of its objects. The associated divines met in Lambeth, at the archiepiscopal residence, and adopted the following mode of accomplishing the business in hand. They first agreed upon the points to be explained, then they debated the several explanations supplied by different individuals, and when they had come to an agreement upon any question, they authenticated the decision by the signature of their respective names. The execution of their design gave rise to warm debates. Gardiner, with a few others, contended earnestly for the maintenance of such usages and opinions as the Church had derived from Rome. But the opposite party was the more numerous, was known to be favoured by the Vicar-general, probably also by the King, and was enabled to support its opinions by a reference to Scripture, which had been pronounced by a royal message to the last Convocation to be the sole rule of faith. As might be expected, therefore, Protestant principles were inculcated in this little work, although the advocates of Romanism left in it ample traces of their exertions. Probably the compilers rather hurried their labours to a close in consequence of apprehensions excited by the plague; a frightful scourge, which had extended its ravages almost to the Archbishop's gates. Anxious for his own sake, and for that of his coadjutors, to leave a neighbourhood thus haunted by contagion, Cranmer applied, through the Vicar-general, for his

Majesty's permission to dismiss his learned associates. In July this indulgence was accorded, and the divines, having finished their task, eagerly retired to breathe the purer air of the country. The Archbishop withdrew to his seat at Ford, near Canterbury. While there, the book prepared by himself and his associates was submitted by Cromwell to the King, who retained it long in his hands, and found in it much to alter. When he had completed his examination, the work, with his notes and alterations, was transmitted to the Archbishop, who, not approving of all that his Majesty proposed to insert as emendations, had the boldness to express his opinion upon these subjects[e], and, finally, he prevailed so far as to procure the publication of a book substantially Protestant.

The work was printed before the close of the year by Barthelet, the King's printer: it is entitled, *The Godly and Pious Institution of a Christen Man.* In familiar language it was styled *the Bishops' Book,* a name bestowed upon it from the circumstance of its compilation having been chiefly effected by the prelates; the whole of whom sanctioned it by their respective signatures. It is, in fact, founded upon the Ten Articles published in the preceding year; of which, the five most important, those upon Justification, Baptism, the Eucharist, Penance, and Purgatory, were transferred without the least alteration into the *Insti-*

[e] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 74.

tution. The principles, therefore, of this celebrated tract are mainly derived from the Confession of Augsburg. The whole work is divided into sections, treating respectively of the Creed, the Seven Sacraments, the Decalogue, the Lord's Prayer, the Ave Maria, Justification, and Purgatory.

In the exposition of the Creed, our Saviour's descent into hell is said to mean, that he went down into the place of punishment for lost souls, in order to render his triumph over the powers of darkness complete, and to rescue from the bondage of Satan those pious spirits that had departed this life in the faith of the Messiah before his actual advent. By this descent, it is taught, the sentence of condemnation brought by Adam's transgression upon the human race, is reversed; the punishment incurred by the original and actual sin of mankind, excused; and the empire of Satan over the world brought to a close. The Catholic Church is defined to mean, a body of men maintaining the unity of faith, hope, and charity, and also possessing the right use and due administration of the Sacraments. All particular churches are asserted to be members of the universal Church, all equal in dignity and power, all built upon the same foundation, all governed by the same Spirit, and entitled to the same glorious immortality. It is consequently declared, that the Church of Rome has no pretension to any other title than that of a portion of the universal Church; and that the Roman Bishop cannot establish, by

God's word, any title to an universal pastorship, or to any authority whatever over the Churches of England, France, Spain, or of any other foreign land. The communion of saints, the remission of sins, the operations of the Holy Ghost, and eternal salvation, are said to be promised solely to such as are within the pale of the Catholic Church; and hence all heretics, Jews, infidels, and heathens, are pronounced in a state of alienation from the mercy of God[f]. All opinions condemned by the first four general councils are pronounced heretical. It is directed that all interpretations of the Creed are to be founded upon the authority of Scripture, and upon that of the primitive Church.

The Sacraments, according to the Romish system, are said to be in number, seven; but this concession to deeply-rooted prejudices, is, in reality, of very little importance; since it is declared that Baptism, Penance, and the Eucharist, are of

[f] *The Institution* "is chiefly remarkable for the earnestness with which it refuses salvation to all persons out of the pale of the Catholic Church." (Lingard.) From the passages above it is however plain, that those who compiled the Institution, and modern Romanists, are not agreed as to the character of the Catholic Church. Ignorant or artful Papists restrict this designation to their own sect, and many Protestants very unguardedly and mischievously use the same language. By means of this ill-judged sacrifice of accuracy and justice, insidious agents of Popery are enabled to impose upon the unwary, by representing that even Protestants, in their creeds and formularies, recognise the pretensions of Romanism; although, in fact, nothing can be more false. It is time, therefore, that those who have at heart the welfare of scriptural Christianity, should abandon the use of a misnomer which is at once injurious and absurd.

greater dignity and use than the other four. The first three Sacraments are said to have been instituted by Christ, and made necessary to salvation; having the promise, to all duly partaking of them, of remission of sins, the aids of the Spirit, and incorporation into the Saviour's mystical body. The four remaining observances, though justly, it is asserted, raised to the rank of Sacraments, and conferring, by means of the priest's prayers, spiritual gifts upon those who receive them, are declared inferior in importance to the former three.

Of the four inferior Sacraments, matrimony is mentioned first; and it is said to consist of an outward sign and an inward grace, and to have been instituted in Paradise; therefore no new Sacrament first appointed in the Gospel. This article concludes by assigning the preference to celibacy. Confirmation is said to have been instituted by the Apostles, for the purpose of restoring those who receive it to that degree of favour with God, which their baptism obtained for them, but which subsequent transgressions have forfeited; and also for the purpose of supplying them with new strength to combat the world, the flesh, and the devil. The administration of this Sacrament is limited to the episcopate. The Sacrament of Orders is said to confer upon those who receive it the power of instruction and government; not, however, arbitrarily, but with limitations to particular purposes. This power is denominated that of the keys, and it is said to

vest in the priesthood the exclusive right of administering the Sacraments. Its institution is declared to be from Christ and his Apostles, and that it is continued in succession from them to the bishops and priests of the Church. Orders are stated to possess the essentials of a Sacrament, inasmuch as prayer and the imposition of hands constitute the outward, visible sign; the power and authority thus conveyed, the inward, spiritual grace. The power conferred by them is distributed into the ministerial and the judicial: of the former, as being well understood, nothing is said; but the latter is declared to be vested in the hierarchy, for the purposes of repressing immorality and infidelity, excommunicating obstinate offenders, and reconciling penitents: but it is denied that this power extends to any authority over person or property; so that a spiritual judge may claim the right of inflicting imprisonment or death. To the episcopate is assigned the privilege of perpetuating the succession of bishops and inferior ministers, of deciding upon qualifications for the priesthood, and of admitting to benefices unexceptionable clergymen presented by lay patrons. In the first three centuries, it is observed, the ecclesiastical discipline and ceremonies were subject to the approval of the clergy and laity conjointly; that after the conversion of kings, the civil power was called in to aid the spiritual, because the latter, having no temporal rights, could not otherwise have extended its influence over the whole community; and that, in the first

periods of the Christian era, the authority of the Roman bishop did not extend beyond the limits of the Italian province. It was then stated, that the Popes had gradually acquired their importance by imperial grants, by presiding at councils, but chiefly by excelling in the arts of intrigue and intimidation; and that their supremacy is at variance with their own engagements, by which they are bound to respect a decree limiting the interference of prelates to their own province or diocese. As a farther confirmation of their judgment upon this then highly interesting subject, the compilers observe, that no passage of Scripture, no father of the apostolical age, adverts to any difference of rank among the apostles and bishops; and that the pre-eminence eventually assigned to metropolitans, was an arrangement adopted subsequently to the primitive times for the preservation of order and unity in the Church. It was also said, that the episcopate confers no right of interference in temporal affairs, no civil jurisdiction independently of princes; and it is asserted, that it is incumbent upon kings to defend the Christian religion, support the orthodox clergy, exterminate heresy and idolatry, and superintend the bishops in the execution of their office. Extreme unction is raised to the dignity of a Sacrament, upon the ground that anointing with oil was used in the apostolic age for the purpose of recovering Christians from sickness[t].

[t] If this article were among the fruits of Romish interference, the other party might have reasonably connived at its insertion,

Upon this subject the people were to be taught, that no man's life was likely to be shortened by the receiving of this unction; since it was instituted for the good of the body, as well as for that of the soul; that it ought not to be deferred until all hope of life was gone; that it should be applied in all cases of dangerous illness; and that it is called *extreme* unction, because it was posterior to baptism and confirmation, in both of which anointing was used. After the unction it was recommended that the Eucharist be received as a means of augmenting the efficacy of the other Sacrament; and it was also suggested, that these religious rites ought to be administered to a sick person while, memory and judgment remaining, he is competent to understand his duty as a Christian.

In the exposition of the Decalogue, an attempt is made, similar to that in the ten articles, to make a distinction between the use and the abuse of

since they took care both to render the rite of some use, by recommending that it be joined with the Eucharist; and also they contrived to shew, by reference to Scripture, that as administered in the Roman Church, it is a piece of mere superstition. From St. James v. 14, 15, it is plain that this unction was applied to the sick with a view to their recovery by means of prayers offered in their behalf. The unction was a practice long used among the Jews in cases of sickness, and hence employed by the Apostles (St. Mark vi. 13.) when they exercised their miraculous gifts of healing. As, however, the Romish clergy do not generally lay claim to such miraculous powers, the unction which they apply is no more than an idle ceremony: it is like "salt that has lost its savour."

images, to restrain the invocation of saints within the bounds of a Christian's duty, and to enforce the observance of holidays. Under the fifth Commandment it is taught, that men should respect their spiritual not less than their natural fathers; and that the sovereign, as the common father of his subjects, has claims upon their obedience, which no act of his can supersede. Under the sixth Commandment, this doctrine is carried farther; it is stated, that no provocation will justify a subject in drawing his sword against his prince, govern how he may, since there is no earthly tribunal competent to take cognizance of his actions; but that an oppressed people is allowed to seek for deliverance from prayer alone; God having reserved the manner in which regal power is exercised upon earth for his own tribunal.

The exposition of the Decalogue is followed by that of the Lord's Prayer, and this by some remarks upon the Ave Maria; which is said to be no prayer, but more properly a sort of hymn, addressed to her who was dignified above any other of the human race. The moral and devotional parts of the work being thus completed, the whole compilation is concluded by the addition of the articles upon Justification and Purgatory, which appeared in the preceding year.

After the divines had accomplished their task, the Primate's active mind was turned to the state of his own diocese. He determined to render his retirement in Kent as beneficial as possible to the people under his spiritual guidance; and for this

purpose he procured a licence from the Vicar-general to authorise him in a visitation of his clergy. One of the Archbishop's principal objects in undertaking this inspection, was to enforce the injunction recently promulged for the retrenchment of superfluous holidays. Although these festivals had grown so numerous, that suitors in the law-courts found their business impeded by them, and even the harvesting of the corn had often been attended with considerable difficulty from the same cause; yet the people found in them an indulgence, which they were most unwilling to relinquish. The early part of these days was generally devoted to some attractive religious ceremonial, and they usually ended in mirth and revelry. But, however agreeable days so spent might be to the frivolous, the superstitious, the idle, or the debauched; there is no man of solid sense and piety, who would not wish to confine such occasions of popular licentiousness within narrow bounds. Unfortunately the clergy of those times were in general little disposed to second the enlightened views entertained by some of their superiors. Especially were they averse to the discontinuance of ancient festivals; occasions on which they considered their own importance to be augmented by the conspicuous figure which they made in some favourite service, and which, as the Church then condescended to become the handmaid to the pleasures of the vulgar, certainly confirmed men in their love for the Romish faith. Cranmer, well aware of the devas-

tations committed by these oft-recurring times of idleness upon the religion and morals of the nation, was resolute in enforcing the suppression of such among them, as had been lately marked out for discontinuance; and, accordingly, he made a strict enquiry throughout his diocese as to the degree in which the Vicar-general's injunction upon this head had been obeyed.

As of the saints' days few, if any, were allowed to remain, except those in honour of the twelve Apostles, of the Virgin, St. Michael, and St. Mary Magdalen, the festival in commemoration of Becket, or St. Thomas of Canterbury, as he was called, among a multitude of others, fell to the ground. The day on which this resolute ecclesiastic's devotion to the Papacy was celebrated, had been usually solemnized by his successors in the archiepiscopal see with every mark of respect. As usual, the latter part of the preceding day was kept as a fast, and long had it been since any Archbishop of Canterbury had been known to take an ordinary meal on St. Thomas's eve. It was, therefore, no little to the surprise of his household, perhaps to the scandal of some attached to it, when they found that orders were given for the serving up of a handsome supper in his Grace's eating room on the very evening which archbishops had usually considered devoted to meditation upon Becket's sufferings in the cause of clerical immunities. However, so altered were the times, that the Primate of all England did not hesitate thus to outrage the feelings of zealous

Papists, but sat down with his usual cheerfulness to a comfortable repast; just as if Becket had quietly died about that time of the year, after a life of ordinary respectability, instead of having sacrificed himself in a struggle to place the clergy above the law of their country [h].

But notwithstanding the example thus set by the Primate, many individuals of distinction appear to have shared with the populace a reluctance to abandon the celebration of their accustomed festivals. Probably the example thus set by individuals of rank was pleaded by some of the Kentish clergy, in extenuation of their own unwillingness to retrench holidays deemed superfluous; for it appears that Cranmer represented to the Vicar-general the ill effect resulting from the disobedience to his orders displayed by some about the court. What success attended this representation is unknown; but from Cromwell's cordial friendship for the Primate, it is far most probable that he interfered so as to prevent those admitted to the sovereign's immediate presence from countenancing, by their example, the various evils, religious, moral, and political, resulting to the nation from a redundance of holidays [i].

A remarkable instance of the regard felt by the Vicar-general for Cranmer, occurred in consequence of the prejudice prevailing against him among the bigoted populace in the North. At

[h] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 79.

[i] Letter of Cranmer to Cromwell. Strype, Mem. Cranm. Appendix, 728.

an ale-house near Scarborough, his character and measures becoming the subjects of keen debate; a priest, who was sitting there, endeavoured to turn both into derision, by repeating the tale of his having been once an hostler. The disputants on the Protestant side, highly disgusted with this absurd and offensive mode of negativing the Archbishop's pretensions to learning and respectability, sent information of the calumny to Cromwell. The prejudices and irritation prevailing in the North, rendered that officer desirous of punishing the ignorant priest for giving currency to this idle tale; and he caused him to be sent prisoner to London. His place of confinement was the Fleet, where he lay during several weeks, until a relative of his, a grocer in the city, applied to the Primate in his behalf. Cranmer, not a little surprised that this most probably unlettered man should have pronounced him "no better learned than the goslings on the green," sent for him to Lambeth. "So," said the Archbishop when he saw him, "I am told that you be prisoner in the Fleet for calling me an hostler, and reporting that I have no more learning than a gosling. Did you ever see me before this day?" "No, forsooth," replied the detractor. "What meant ye then," Cranmer rejoined, "to call me an hostler, and so to deface me among your neighbours?" "My Lord," said the priest, "I hope your Grace will excuse my folly; I was overseen with drink." "Well," was the reply, "now ye be come here, you may oppose me to know what

learning I have. Begin in grammar, if you will, or else in philosophy, or other sciences, or divinity." "My Lord," rejoined the ignorant divine, "I beseech your Grace to pardon me; I have no manner of learning in the Latin tongue, but altogether in English." "Well then," said the Primate, "if you will not oppose me, I will oppose you. Are you not wont to read the Bible?" "Yea, my Lord, daily;" was the answer. "I pray you then tell me," resumed Cranmer, "who was David's father?" The unfortunate examinee, after standing for awhile confounded by the question, at length thus broke silence: "In truth, my good Lord, I cannot tell your Grace." "Well then," said the examiner, "perhaps you can tell me who was Solomon's father?" "Surely, my Lord," replied the priest, "I am nothing at all seen in those genealogies." The Archbishop then thus addressed him: "The matter, I perceive, stands thus. You have reported of me, without knowing what you said, that I have no learning at all: now I am enabled to bear witness of you, that you have none at all. There is a sort of you in this realm that know nothing, and that will know nothing; but, notwithstanding, ye have the face to sit upon the ale-bench, and slander all honest and learned men. If ye had but common sense in your heads, you that have called me an hostler, ye would have known that the King, having the hardest questions which have arisen respecting the purport of Scripture these many years, would not have sent such a man as ye de-

scribe, to the Bishop of Rome, the Emperor's council, the college of cardinals, and the whole rout of Rome. His Highness must either have sadly lacked the help of learned men, if he were driven to send hostlers upon such affairs, or he must have under his rule many idle priests without wit or reason, that can so judge of their prince, his council, and the weightiest matters. God amend you, and get ye home to your cure; and from henceforth learn to be an honest, or at least a reasonable man."

The Archbishop, immediately after this interview, procured his discharge for the humiliated clergyman, who gladly returned to his own home. Cromwell, however, offended that the matter was passed over so lightly, said with an oath, four days afterwards: "My Lord of Canterbury, the Popish knaves shall pick out your eyes, and cut your throat, before I will any more rebuke them for their slanders. I had thought, that the rogue of a priest, whom you have sent home, should have recanted at Paul's Cross on Sunday next." "Marry," answered the Archbishop, "you would make all the world think that I was an hostler indeed." "What manner of blockheads would so think?" asked the Vicar General. Cranmer resumed: "Too many Papists. Howbeit you have caused the poor priest to spend all that he hath in prison; and would you now put him to an open shame too? He is not the first, by five hundred of them, that hath called me an hostler; and therefore I will not now begin to use extremity

against this priest. I perceive he is sorry for what he has said, and that is enough." On this Cromwell thus ended the conversation: "Well then, if you care not for it, no more do I; but I warrant you, one day, if they have the opportunity, they will make you and me too as vile as hostlers [k]."

It was during Cranmer's stay at Ford, that the English Bible, which had been printed under his patronage, was completed. The important work was transmitted to him by Grafton, one of the publishers, and by his interest it obtained the royal approbation. Englishmen were thus protected in the exercise of their right to consult God's undoubted Word, much to the satisfaction of the Archbishop, who said that he received the news with greater pleasure than he would have felt if a thousand pounds had been sent to him [l]. The book was published in folio, and in the title-page it was said, that Thomas Matthewe was the translator. This name, however, appears to have been fictitious, and was probably adopted merely to disguise the fact, that the translation was accomplished by scholars whose labours had been industriously depreciated by the Romish party. The real editor was either Coverdale, or John Rogers, who became known in the next reign as an able and efficient minister of the Gospel, and

[k] From the relation of Morice, Cranmer's secretary, drawn up by Archbishop Parker's command, and printed from the original (in Bibl. C. C. C. C.) by Strype, Mem. Cranm. 627.

[l] Ibid. 82.

who was the proto-martyr in the Marian persecution. The printing was conducted abroad; and as the types are German, from that circumstance, and from the words of Foxe, it has been thought[m] that the Hamburg press conferred this benefit upon England. To the end of Chronicles, the translation is that of Tyndale; and thence, to the end of the Apocrypha, Coverdale was the translator: the New Testament is that of Tyndale[n].

Although, when the work appeared, the royal licence for its circulation was duly recorded in the title-page, many people affected to disbelieve that the King could have authorised such a publication. As, however, from the experience of the past, it was now evident that no artifices would avail to repress a general desire for the possession of this improved edition of the Sacred Volume, Grafton became anxious, not so much for the favourable reception of his editor's labours, as for the reimbursement of his own outlay. The goodly folio had been produced by him at an expense of five hundred pounds, and the impression consisted of fifteen hundred copies. But no sooner did some Dutch adventurers observe the pleasure with which the English public hailed the new work, than they determined to pirate it, by producing another edition of smaller size and price. Upon gaining intelligence of this intention, Grafton apprehended, that if accomplished, he should

[m] By Strype, Mem. Cranm. 83.

[n] Walter on the Independence of the Authorised Version, 101.

be undersold, to his own utter ruin, and to the great injury of his creditors. He, therefore, petitioned the Vicar-general to procure for him, from the King, the exclusive privilege of printing the Bible in English, during the space of three years*; alleging, as a reason for his request, not only the impossibility of his being reimbursed without such a protection, but also the certainty of considerable errors being introduced into the sacred text, if foreigners, ignorant of English, were allowed to print it. He, besides, suggested, that it would be desirable to issue an order, that all incumbents should provide themselves with a copy of the Bible, and that every abbey should provide six for the use of its members. Perhaps in all this there might appear a considerable degree of commercial avidity; but it should be recollected, that the undertaking had been accomplished by an outlay of capital, which, in those days, amounted to a very serious sum; that Grafton represents himself as *a poor young man;* and that he had good reason to expect a general opposition to the success of his honourable venture among the clergy. Indeed he expresses himself

* "Whether this was granted or not, I do not find. But I have seen a copy of this Bible in a small thick folio, where the text and notes are the same with this of 1537; and Tyndale's prologues to the Pentateuch, Jonas, and the Epistle to the Romans, are inserted; but all the other prologues are omitted, as are the initials of Grafton, Whitchurch, (printers of the larger Bible,) and Tyndale, and the wooden cuts in the Revelation." Lewis, 109.

as if he was doubtful of meeting with any patronage among the prelates, except from the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of Salisbury and Worcester [p].

On the 12th of October [q], the hopes of the Protestant party were confirmed by the birth of a male heir to the crown. This event, which occasioned great joy both to the King and the nation, occurred at Hampton Court. But the general satisfaction was soon damped by one of those lamentable incidents which balance so fatally to the softer sex their exemption from the perils of active life. Within a very short time of her delivery [r], Jane died of a malady to which women in her situation are liable. Both her husband and the country were much grieved at this mournful event [s]; as she had borne her elevation in such a manner as to give universal satisfaction. Her infant progeny was, six days after his birth, invested with the titles of Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Chester. At his baptism, the name of Edward was given to him; and upon that occasion, the sponsors were Archbishop

[p] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 85.

[q] Being St. Edward's eve. Holinshed.

[r] Halle, Holinshed, and Herbert state, that the Queen died on the 14th; but from a journal written by Cecil, it appears that she did not die before the 24th. (Note to Rapin, I. 817.) She was buried under the choir in the collegiate church at Windsor.

[s] Halle. This historian says, that even during the festivities of Christmas, which were celebrated at Greenwich, the court was in mourning; and Holinshed tells us, that the sables were not laid aside until Candlemas.

Cranmer, the Duke of Norfolk, and the Lady Mary[t]. His uncle, Sir Edward Seymour, who had in the last year been created Baron Beauchamp, was now advanced to the Earldom of Hertford; and the general joy excited by the birth of an heir to the crown labouring under no suspicion of illegitimacy, was farther signalized by the elevation of Sir William Fitz-William, Lord High Admiral, to the Earldom of Southampton[u].

[t] Holinshed. [u] Herbert, 212.

CHAPTER VIII.

Second visitation of monasteries—Some houses surrendered—Relics and images destroyed—Imposition at Hales detected—Becket's bones disinterred.—Suppression of the larger abbeys—Liberal treatment of the secularized religious—Severities exercised upon some of the abbots—Revenues derived from the suppression—Destruction of conventual libraries and edifices—New bishoprics erected—Diminution of ecclesiastical influence in Parliament—Public uses to which monastic property was applied—Improvident grants of abbey lands—Loss of the impropriate tithes to the Church—Policy of Popery in the institution of Monachism—Indignation of the Papal court on receiving news of the recent proceedings in England—The bull of excommunication formally published—Injunctions issued, by which it was ordered, that every parish should provide a Bible for general use; and every incumbent should keep a register—Cranmer addresses the King for a farther reformation—Delegates from the German Protestants arrive in England—Summary of their arguments against half communion, private masses, and clerical celibacy—Summary of Bishop Tunstall's reply—Persecution of Lambert—State of opinion among the principal English Reformers—Persecution of the Dutch Anabaptists—Pole's mission to Spain—Detection and execution of his English accomplices.

DURING the late rebellion, nothing had more plainly appeared than the inveterate hostility towards the government entertained by the monastic orders. Not only had the monks in the North industriously fomented the discontent around them, and afforded pecuniary aid to the malcontents; but as also supplies of money from south-

ern convents had been transmitted to the insurgent leaders, it was obvious, that among the religious, every enemy to the existing order of things might securely calculate upon finding a numerous and powerful body of devoted auxiliaries. A thorough conviction of this truth, which no candid mind could elude, proved fatal to English monachism. Men attached to the Reformation reasoned, that while monasteries should continue, Popery might indeed be depressed, but would never be extirpated: while mere politicians augured, from the instinctive leaning of these establishments towards the Papacy, that they would constantly nurture a spirit of opposition to the existing policy of England. Thus another opportunity was afforded to the more moderate Reformers of advocating their favourite scheme of diverting the monastic revenues from the useless and injurious purposes to which they had been long applied, to such objects as had been contemplated by the earliest founders of English monasteries, and which had been set aside by the artifices of Dunstan. To adopt this plan appears to have been partly the King's intention; but he probably had an eye also to the replenishing of his exchequer from the confiscation of the conventual property; and there can be no doubt that this object weighed materially with the more rapacious of his courtiers. To counterbalance this general feeling of hostility to their cause among those possessed of power and influence, effectual means were no longer at the disposal of the monks.

Their boldest and ablest champions had perished in the field, or on the scaffold, and their less distinguished partizans were awed into submission by a recollection of hardships and severities under which they had smarted, or from which they had with difficulty escaped. From various causes, therefore, the monasteries had become defenceless; and the government rightly judged, that a more favourable opportunity for their total suppression could never be expected to occur. This measure, accordingly, was determined upon, and it was preceded by orders for a new visitation of the convents; by which means, it was not doubted, additional charges of moral obliquity might be brought against these societies, and might be aggravated by a display of their political offences. To this latter object, the visitors were desired to pay particular attention: they were to investigate very narrowly the state of party feeling in every house, and the conduct which its inmates had pursued during the late rebellion. It was also desired, that a careful enquiry should be made into the various frauds and impostures by which monks were known to enrich themselves, and to debase the popular mind[a]. Perhaps also the visitors were privately instructed to persuade the different societies to make terms with the crown, by the appearance of a voluntary surrender: a mode by which the government affected to have acquired much of the conventual property already

[a] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 364.

confiscated; as is shewn by a circular letter of Cromwell, intended to allay the apprehensions of the greater abbots, in which they were informed, that unless the smaller religious houses had made a free and voluntary surrender to the King, "his Grace would never have received the same[b]."

Of the larger houses, some surrenders, apparently uncompelled, had indeed already occurred. Of these the earliest was that of Furness, in Lancashire[c], the ruins of which still interest intelligent observers. To this opulent abbey was attached 960*l.* of yearly revenue; and as the monks were only thirty in number, their motive for being so forward in breaking up their opulent establishment, is incomprehensible, unless it be supposed that they had largely participated in the treasons of their neighbours. The abbey of Bermondsey, in Surrey, was next surrendered, avowedly in the hope of being favourably treated by the King. The last house broken up in the year 1537, was that of Bulisham, or Bisham, in Berkshire, of which the abbacy was holden by Bishop Barlow, *in commendam* with the see of St. David's[d]. That prelate favoured the Reformation, and hence he probably thought it meritorious to emancipate himself, and those subjected to his control, without unnecessary delay, from the superstitious and irksome formalities of a cloister. But these examples appeared to produce no effect upon other

[b] Collier, (II. 157.) from a MS. in the Cotton library.

[c] Surrendered April 9, 1537. Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 364.

[d] Ibid.

conventual bodies; and when the last year closed, the generality of these societies shewed a reluctance to separate, and surrender their revenues, so long as there was any prospect of their continuance in a corporate state.

However, soon after the new visitors commenced their inspection, the whole monastic system was exposed to the public scorn and indignation. Most of the larger abbeys were indeed exempted from the infamy of being polluted by gross immorality; but few of these houses, whatever were their size, had declined a participation in those contemptible and scandalous impositions which form the conspicuous disgrace of the orders denominated religious. When all the monasteries of England were ransacked, people were astonished at the extent to which monks and nuns had practised upon their credulity. Eleven houses exhibited a girdle, which was said to have belonged to the Virgin: in eight places it was pretended some of her milk was to be seen. For the cure of tooth-ache, wealthy dupes were invited to pay their devotions at convents that reverendly treasured up the bell of St. Guthlac; and some felt once possessed, so said the story, by St. Thomas of Lancaster. Another St. Thomas, he of Canterbury, had left among his many valuable legacies to the monks, a pen-knife, boots, and tattered shirt, all of established efficacy to procure the visits of pregnant women, and to send them home confident of a safe delivery. One monastery possessed some coals, saved, it was said, from

the remains of that fire, which had once blazed under the gridiron of St. Laurence. In two or three places the deluded worshipper was expected to reverence a human head, under the idea that it had graced the shoulders of St. Ursula[e]. A relic, something less disgusting, was a man's ear, which, it was pretended, had been cut off by St. Peter from the head of Malchus. But nothing was beneath the notice of these relic-mongers: even the parings of some man's nails were carefully preserved in one place, and duly venerated as the personal spoils of St. Edmund[f].

From such wretched trumpery neither scoffing, good sense, nor piety, has even yet succeeded in purging edifices dedicated by Romanists to the worship of God; it may therefore be supposed

[e] It is a pity that the claims of these worthy monks or nuns could not have been adjusted by assigning the superfluous heads to some of the eleven thousand virgins, whom Romish legends state to have shared with St. Ursula the honour of martyrdom.

[f] To this well known catalogue of relics, Fuller adds two articles more: one, a fragment of the cross, sprinkled with our Saviour's blood, and stolen after the Emperor Baldwin's death, by his chaplain, who bestowed it upon the priory of Bromeholme, in his native county of Norfolk. "It seems," says the facetious historian, "there is no felony in such wares, but catch who catch may; yea, such sacrilege is supererogation." The other relic is a tooth of St. Apollonia, which being esteemed a valuable amulet for the cure of tooth-ache, came into high request: the result was, these teeth multiplied amazingly; and, it is said, a collection being made of them in King Edward's reign, they filled a tun. "Were the saint's stomach proportionable to her teeth, a county would scarce afford her a meal's meat." Church Hist. 331.

that many well-meaning persons hesitated to pour merited contempt upon the relics, as such things are called, which the visitors collected and described. Their inspection, however, brought other fooleries and frauds to light, about which no difference of opinion could exist. Among these was the figure of an angel, which, though made of wood, and furnished with a single wing, had the credit of having flown over into England with the spear-head that pierced our Saviour's side. In another place was a wooden log, dressed in female attire, and furnished with a head and hands, in one of which was placed a taper that had burned, as lovers of the marvellous were told, during the whole of nine successive years without wasting: this prodigious effort made by the mysterious candle, was, however, at last abruptly terminated; for some perfidious wretch ventured to invoke the Virgin, whom the log represented; and the falsehood which he attested by an appeal to her, was no sooner uttered, than the light which flickered in the figure's hand, was wonderfully extinguished. Not only was this half-shapen lady publicly undressed; but also that unceremonious course was adopted with another figure, long venerated at Worcester, as a gigantic resemblance of the same highly favoured personage: nor were the people a little amused when they saw that this object, which had been decorated with female attire, was in reality the image of a bishop ten feet high [s].

[s] Collier, II. 149.

These exhibitions were rather diverting than otherwise: one at St. Paul's Cross was calculated to produce more serious emotions. To that place was brought, from Boxley, in Kent, a puppet long revered as the Rood of Grace, which, by means of secret springs, moved its eyes and lips, to the infinite amazement of rustic worshippers. Hilsey, Bishop of Rochester, descanted in the pulpit upon the profligacy of such devices to cheat and rob mankind; and his invectives were illustrated by an exposure of the mechanism which had rendered this idol so wonderful to ignorant spectators [b]. About the same time was brought from North Wales a colossal figure, called the Darvel Gatheren, to which hundreds of needy peasants had been known to bring in a single day the choicest of their substance, under a persuasion that they should thereby escape, in a future

[b] Bale styles this scandalous imposture "the gaping rode of Boxleye." (Ponce Pantolabus.) The Romish writers are very sparing in their notice of these blots, discovered in their Church; nevertheless, the MS. historian of the Reformation (Bibl. Harl.) ventures to mention with respect even the Boxley puppet, which appears to have been one of the most scandalous impostures discovered. Speaking of the judicious plan adopted by Cromwell, in exposing these infamous frauds, he thus proceeds: "The rood of grace at Boxley, in Kent, was, amongst others of like nature, *prophaned* and defaced." The mode adopted by modern Romanists to parry the indignation and ridicule which the discoveries of Cromwell have thrown upon them, is by representing the statements to be derived from Thomas's *Pelerine Inglese*, a work which they represent, though written by a contemporary, as unworthy of credit. However, most of the objects mentioned by Thomas, are also mentioned by Bale and Foxe.

state, the punishment due to their sins[1]. This huge idol, by a mixture of cruelty, insult, and superstition, was burnt under the gallows upon which Forest, an Observant friar, was hanged

[1] Dr. Lingard has mentioned this idol; and he tells us, in a note, that it was a rood. Halle tells us that Forest said, "I took the oath of supremacy with my outward man, but my inward man never consented thereto." He was suspended by the arm-holes in Smithfield over a fire, which the enormous Welch idol helped to feed. To the gallows were affixed the following rude verses:

David Darvel Gatheren,
As saith the Welchmen,
Fetched outlaws out of hell.
Now is he come with spear and shield,
In harness to burn in Smithfield,
For in Wales he may not dwell.

And Forest the freer,
That obstinate lyer,
That wilfully shall be dead;
In his contumacy
The Gospel doth deny
The King to be supreme head.

Lord Herbert says, that this idol was used at Forest's execution, "to elude I know not what old blind prophecy." Fuller thus explains the mystery: "There was in Wales a great and *loobily* image, of which an old prophecy went, that *it should burn a forest.*" Among the letters recently printed by Mr. Ellis, is one (II. 82.) from Ellis Price, who was visiting the diocese of St. Asaph, to Cromwell, in which that officer is informed, that deluded people, to the amount of five or six hundred in a day, had been used to come with cattle or money, as offerings to the Darvel Gatheren, under a notion of his power to fetch them out of hell if they should be damned.

alive, with inexcusable barbarity, for the crime so constantly committed by the dissembling Popish priests, of inciting the people, in confessions, to deny the King's supremacy. Besides the idols already mentioned, there were many others collected by Cromwell's orders, and ignominiously committed to the flames. One of these, known to grave speakers, as St. John of Ossulston, and to familiar ones, as Mr. John Shorne, was said to have imprisoned the devil in a boot. The tide of popular feeling was, however, now strongly turned against these objects of a degrading superstition, and men wondered how they could have submitted so long to venerate what was evidently contemptible; and to regard as miraculous, what a little enquiry would have shewn as an unprincipled and impudent imposture.

This latter character attached conspicuously to a "lying wonder" displayed at Hales, in Gloucestershire, where was a monastery said to be possessed of a portion of our Saviour's blood. To enjoy the beatific sight of this illustrious relic, awakened sinners hastened from every part of England. On arrival at the venerated spot, they were directed to confess, and to order the celebration of masses as a propitiation for their iniquities. After a time they were conducted to the oratory, which contained the far-famed object of their journey. It was a gloomy chamber, from which an anxious pilgrim had many times departed unsolaced by the glorious vision upon

which he had calculated as an ample recompence for all his toil and money. The phial, indeed, which held the blood, had been submitted to his longing gaze, but a dark uncheering object was all that his eye could discern. His penitence, he was then told, was incomplete, his mercenary masses not sufficiently numerous. Haunted by these mortifying reflections, the wealthy pilgrim underwent new austerities, and again hired priests to offer a propitiatory sacrifice, until either his exhausting patience, or the conscience of his spiritual advisers, pointed out the time for the gratification of his long-cherished hopes. Then was he once more conducted into the mysterious cell, and a bright red hue, beaming from the glassy vessel, consoled him with the conviction that his journey, and his money, and his fasting, had not been all in vain. How grieved at the recollection of their own folly, how indignant at the men who could, under the shew of piety, dare to abuse that folly so grossly, must those who had gone in pilgrimage to Hales have been, when the secrets of the place were discovered! A chrystal phial, opaque on one side, transparent on the other, contained the blood of which a sight had been often so ardently desired. The blood itself was that of a duck, changed once in every week. Of this mysterious phial two priests were confederated in the management, and the course of their infamous legerdemain was to shew the bright side in cases where no more was to be expected from the unhappy dupe, the dark side to those whose pockets,

it was thought, might be fairly drained a little more completely [k].

[k] With that appearance of good-natured indulgence which modern infidels display towards Popery, Hume condescends to apologize, in his History of England, for the gross abuses detected by the visitation of monasteries. "Such fooleries as these," we are told, "are to be found in all ages and nations, and even took place during the most refined periods of antiquity; hence they form no particular or violent reproach to the Catholic religion." This conclusion will not, however, stand the test of examination: for, although it is true that "the most refined nations of antiquity" were disgraced by the same sort of "fooleries" that form the standing reproach of Romanism, and moreover, that perhaps all ages and nations have been so disgraced, yet the reason of this scandal is palpable enough. The refined ancients professed an idolatrous religion. The same unhappy cause, though rendered less noxious, still operates in the Christian world, carrying lies and delusions in its train. But the infamy of this attaches to no respectable Protestant community, although it is the incurable reproach of that Church which has ventured to engraft Paganism upon Christianity. Even at this period, English newspapers contain accounts of cures wrought upon the nervous system of secluded females, by the agency of prayers offered by a German prince, and rendered more imposing by the mummeries of a Romish mass. It is in vain that serious men of all religions read these statements with concern and disgust, that scoffers triumph in the humiliating picture presented by a society professedly Christian; some of the Romish hierarchy openly encourage the delusion, notwithstanding the tendency of such things to point out their Church as that foreseen by St. Paul, which was to be distinguished by "lying wonders." Nor in spite of the enlightened notions probably entertained by many who hold communion with the Roman Church, have the nuisances in their worship ever been materially abated. Their religious edifices are still rendered contemptible, by gaudy boxes of trumpery revered as relics; and more contemptible still, by figures of saints decorated, as it is thought, by faded silk, dirty muslin,

During the progress of disabusing the nation from the frauds engendered by monkery, the posthumous glories of Becket were rudely swept away. Of all the saints in the Romish calendar, England had been most egregiously befooled under pretence of rendering the honour due to the memory of this enthusiast. Not only was the anniversary of his assassination celebrated, but also that of his body's transfer from its original grave to a splendid shrine. This festival, which happened on the 7th of July, and was known as the translation of St. Thomas, crowded Canterbury every year with the deluded victims of superstition. It was, however, only once in fifty years that avarice and folly were completely glutted on the spot rendered memorable by Becket's last struggle in the cause of a foreign ecclesiastic. Then was a jubilee celebrated of a fortnight's continuance, which decoyed, under the promise of papal indulgences, misguided pilgrims from every part of Christendom. Upon one occasion this triumph, so infamous to Romanism, of ignorance and artifice over Christian principles, had collected in

artificial flowers, and paltry trinkets. Their ministers do not, as a body, disdain to encourage a belief in miracles ascribed to the mass, and to those who trumpet forth its virtues. All these "fooleries," and worse than "fooleries," are, indeed, common to both Pagans and Papists, whether "refined" or otherwise; but Hume would have looked for them in vain among respectable Protestant communities: these things do therefore, in fact, "*form a particular and violent reproach*" to that which the historian calls the Catholic religion.

Canterbury not less than a hundred thousand infatuated devotees[1]. More than three centuries of gross delusion had rendered Becket's shrine astonishingly rich in those worldly vanities by which Romanists seek to dignify their saints. Even the Virgin, whom the unsuspecting Papist is used to venerate with sentiments due to no child of Adam, could not sustain a competition with the rebellious and fanatical prelate. In one year were offered at her altar 63*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.* in the next 4*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.* while, in the first of those years, oblations at Becket's altar amounted to 832*l.* 12*s.* 3*d.* in the second, to 964*l.* 12*s.* 3*d.* As the deluded worshippers professed themselves Christians, it cannot be added, without covering with disgrace the memory of their religious instructors, that, in one of those years which brought these honours to altars erected in commemoration of mere mortals, only 3*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* was offered at Christ's altar; in the next, the holy Founder of our faith, and Author of our salvation, was totally overlooked. The splendid gleanings left by an infatuation so long continued, and so widely spread, were now seized by the royal commissioners. The largest gem discovered, one presented by Lewis VII. of France, was set in a ring, and afterwards worn by Henry himself. Besides this, and many other valuables,

[1] "It appears from the record of the sixth jubilee after his translation, anno 1420, that there were then about a hundred thousand strangers come to visit his tomb." Somner's Antiquities of Canterbury, cited by Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 378.

there was found gold enough to fill two such chests as eight strong men could with difficulty carry out of the church.

Not contented with seizing the wealth accumulated at Becket's tomb, the visitors entered upon an absurd process against the murdered Archbishop, on the ground of disloyalty to his sovereign. It was pronounced that this charge was proved, and, accordingly, the sentence of the court soon caused a new translation of the once venerated bones, which were now either unceremoniously burnt, or jumbled confusedly with other relics of mortality. In offering to the deceased prelate's memory this needless mark of disrespect, it was seen that the skull lay with his other remains, a discovery which added to the infamy of the monks at Canterbury; for, among the objects offered to the admiration of their visitors, was a human skull, gravely said to have once contained the brains of Becket, but now deprived upon this irresistible evidence of the credit it had long usurped. Another secret was brought to light as to the sanguineous hue of a well, over which wondering pilgrims had often told their beads, on being informed that the martyr's blood had caused its incurable discoloration[m]. It was

[m] "The Roman Catholics produce a regular chain of miracles." (Book of the Roman Catholic Church, 41.) Archbishop Becket was the means of forging another link in this "chain of miracles." Some inhabitants of Stroud, we are told, affronted the sainted prelate, by cutting off his horse's tail: *all the children of these people were born with tails.* The following are Po-

now found, however, that to certain ingenious brothers of the convent had been assigned the care of duly tinging the water with a composition of a red colour; a mode of accounting for the phenomenon, most unsatisfactory to all lovers of the marvellous.

The exposure of so much profligacy, folly, and imposture, the suspicion of disloyalty attaching to the monastic orders from their known encouragement of the late commotions, and perhaps, more than all, the determination to consummate their ruin so evidently discovered by the government, at length induced the conventual bodies generally to prepare for that change which now appeared inevitable. Their dissolution was faci-

lydore Vergil's words respecting this matter. "Qui (Becket se.) velut hostis Regis habitus, jam tum cœpit sic vulgo negligi, contemni, ac in odio esse, ut cum venisset aliquando Strodum, qui vicus situs est ad Medveiam flumen, quod flumen Rocestriam alluit, ejus loci accolæ cupidi bonum patrem ita despectum ignominia aliqua afficiendi, non dubitarint amputare caudam equi quem ille equitaret, seipsos perpetuo probro obligantes: nam postea nutu Dei ita accidit, *ut omnes ex eo genere hominum qui id facinus fecissent nati sunt instar mutorum animalium caudati.*" A similar link in this extraordinary chain appears, from Goscelin, (Angl. Sacr. II. 67.) to have been forged by means of Augustine, the Kentish apostle, who being pelted with fish-tails at a village in Dorsetshire, those inconvenient appendages afterwards distinguished the insolent rustics *and all their progeny.* As neither Kentish nor Dorsetshire naturalists mention these *caudate* families, they are probably extinct; a circumstance much to be regretted by admirers of Lord Monboddo's hypothesis, as well as by believing readers of the Breviary, and by all who are anxious to maintain the credit of such miracles as distinguish the papal Church.

litated by the selfish conduct of individuals, who, according to the usual practice of men on the eve of an important revolution in their affairs, strove to secure for themselves some portion of their present abundance, as a resource in case of future necessity. New leases of abbey lands were granted on favourable terms, and large fines thus obtained were appropriated by the grantors to their own uses. In the opulent abbey of St. Alban's, this system had been carried to such an extent, that the rents actually received from the estates were found inadequate to defray the current expenses of the house. The moveable property of the different convents was also embezzled without mercy. At Battle, an abbey splendidly endowed, there appeared to be nothing but the miserable remains of furniture not worth 100*l.*; and even the plate appropriated to religious uses, as surrendered to the visitors, was only valued at 400 marks. Other convents were wholly stripped of furniture, and did not yield more than ten or fifteen ounces of plate. In fact, the religious appear to have been solely intent upon seizing every thing within their reach, and determined to leave little for those who should come after them except the lead, bells, and other such bulky articles. When, however, they had secured a reserve against future contingencies, they naturally became less solicitous for the continuance of their respective societies, and therefore they readily consented to surrender their houses. For this express purpose a superior was appointed by government influence in

cases which, by means of an opportune vacancy, allowed of that management[n]. Nor can it be doubted that many individuals were glad to escape from the confinement and formality of a cloister, either to live as secular clergymen, or entirely at leisure on what they had secured. From all these causes, it was found that the dissolution of monasteries proceeded regularly forward, even without much appearance of compulsion on the part of the crown. In some instances, however, the intentions of the government met with a persevering resistance. The religious were most unwilling to surrender their houses, and their constancy was warmly supported from without. The nunnery of Godstow near Oxford, in particular, was strongly recommended, on account of its excellent character, by the neighbouring gentry to the King's favourable consideration. In other cases corruption was tried, and Cromwell, with his inferior instruments, received gratuities from some houses as the price of an interference which either was never employed, or proved unavailing[o].

It became, indeed, sufficiently plain that nothing short of a total suppression of monasteries would satisfy the government. A committee of gentlemen and lawyers, with the Earl of Sussex at their head, was appointed for the purpose of receiving the surrenders; and no man doubted, at last, that if the religious did not, to appearance,

[n] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 306. [o] Collier, II. 157.

voluntarily break up their establishments, they would ultimately be compelled to do so by an act of the legislature. As this conviction gained ground every day, all the conventual bodies gradually became willing to do as they were expected, in the hope of making favourable terms for themselves. The reasons assigned for their conduct were extremely various. Some deeds of surrender ascribe that act to the bankrupt state of the foundation, others to the immorality that had crept into the house, others to the inutility of monastic observances. A society of Franciscans, seated at Stamford, premise their surrender by asserting, that they had determined upon it under a conviction that the perfection of Christian living doth not consist in wearing a grey coat, submitting to certain mortifications, ducking the head before an altar, and surrounding the waist with a girdle full of knots. The brotherhood of St. Andrew's, at Northampton, admitted, that "they and their predecessors, called religious persons, had taken the monastic habit only to lead their lives in idle quietness; and under colour of the said habit, had devoured their revenues in continual ingurgitations and farcings of their carrion bodies, and of others the supporters of their voluptuous and carnal appetites, with other vain and ungodly expenses. Revolving daily, they continued, these things in their sorrowful hearts, together with the deceptions practised upon the people by means of counterfeit relics and dead images, they perceived the bot-

tomless pit of everlasting perdition ready to swallow them up if they should depart from this uncertain and transitory life[p]." In this case, it must be supposed, great disorders had been detected, and therefore the penitent friars thought their best chance of escape from merited punishment depended upon gratifying the enemies of monkery by an ingenuous confession of misconduct, which could neither be denied nor palliated.

Probably, nothing accelerated the progress of the dissolution more effectually than the provisions made for the future support of those who were transferred from convents to the world. By means of the pensions assigned to them, and of the reserve which they had commonly succeeded in making from their ancient resources, the religious found themselves placed in comfortable circumstances for the rest of their lives. This advantage was not, however, secured by such as had recently entered into the monastic state: none were provided for unless they had professed long before the dissolution. Those who were thus recommended, were either presented to some ecclesiastical benefice, or received, by letters patent, the grant of an annual pension, payable from the court of augmentation, and determinable whenever the grantee should obtain a living or dignity of equal value with it. The abbots were pensioned in proportion to the opulence of the

[p] Fuller, 320. From the original Records.

foundation over which they had presided, and according to the character which they were found to have maintained. The abbots of St. Alban's and Tewkesbury had each an annual pension of 400 marks. The abbot of Bury, having been found wholly blameless, was rewarded for his prudent management with a pension of 500 marks[q]. Besides these liberal measures for their permanent support, the religious were allowed, on their departure from the monastery, a sum of money as a *vale*, or outfit. The ordinary monks had usually pensions of six or eight pounds annually, and one fourth of that sum as a *vale;* the pensions assigned to the nuns were generally four pounds, the *vale* one half of that sum. These arrangements reflect great credit upon the liberality of the government. At that period, the provision made for the religious was sufficient to maintain single persons in comfort. The valuation of church livings yet acted upon was made contemporaneously, or very nearly so, with the dissolution of monasteries; and a very considerable proportion of benefices, now yielding a reputable income, is not rated at a higher sum than that which the displaced religious received as a pension. Indeed, there were some cases in which the liberality of the commissioners to the mem-

[q] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 366. From the memorial drawn up by Sir Edward Montague, in order to excuse his concern in framing King Edward's will, it appears that that individual received, as Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, 600 marks annual salary. Fuller, 5.

bers of a suppressed society left a very small residue for his Majesty's use. The priory of Hinton, in Somersetshire, was valued at 262*l.* 12*s.* annually; of which sum no less than 163*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* were granted away in pensions to the different monks[r]. Thus the conventual property came into the King's hands under very heavy incumbrances, a circumstance which will account for the ease with which the secularised monks were afterwards enabled to obtain preferment in the Church.

In a few instances severity was employed to break the spirit of the religious. It was notorious that many of the monasteries had abetted the northern rebels, and thus the superiors of such houses, at all events, had exposed themselves fairly enough to the penalties of the law. These were eventually inflicted upon three mitred abbots, Richard Whiting of Glastonbury, Hugh Faringdon of Reading, and John Beach of Colchester, who were attainted in the Parliament holden in the next year, and executed in the following December[s]. The two former had been found to have aided the northern insurgents by large supplies of money and plate[t]: of Beach's case no particulars are known to exist. Whiting, of Glastonbury, was hanged with two monks of his house from the battlements of the tower which crowns the hill at that place, called the Tor. He was clearly convicted on his trial of having embezzled the property of his house to a great ex-

[r] Fuller, 343. [s] Collier, II. 164.
[t] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 370.

tent, and he died confessing the justice of his sentence[u]. It is, indeed, not improbable that a good deal of information, impeaching the loyalty of individuals or societies, might have come into the possession of the government; and therefore all who were conscious of having encouraged the recent disorders, were naturally willing to surrender their houses, in the hope of thus escaping the fate which had overtaken some of those who had shared their treasons.

The operation of so many causes effected, in the course of about two years, the complete overthrow of Romish monachism in England. From the time of Dunstan nearly six hundred years had now elapsed; and, during this long period, a large proportion of the national wealth had been settled upon the religious. According to Lord Herbert, from the different suppressions, an annual income of 161,100l. was placed at the King's disposal: a sum amounting to above one-third of the whole ecclesiastical revenues of England as then existing. This estimate of the noble author, however, includes the proceeds derived eventually from colleges, chantries, and hospitals; foundations not at first dissolved[x]. The whole landed income of

[u] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 370. Letter from John, Lord Russell, to Lord Cromwell, published in Mr. Ellis's collection, II. 98.

[x] "The abbeys suppressed in England and Wales were 645, as Camden reports: but the list of them taken out of the Court of First Fruits and Tenths mounts to the number of 754. And therefore it is likely the 110 hospitals dissolved were thrown into the catalogue." Collier, II. 164.

England appears to have been rated, a short time before the suppression of monasteries, at four millions annually; and hence it has been thought probable, that the regulars and the chantry priests conjointly did not consume a twentieth part of the rents derived from agriculture[y]. Perhaps, however, the income assigned to the various suppressed corporations is to be considered as what is called a reserved rent, a species of payment still commonly made by the holders of episcopal and chapter estates, of which the comparatively trifling annual amount is in some measure compensated to the landlord by a considerable fine from the tenant at the expiration of his term. If this system were general with the religious, it is probable that they might be the proprietors of a fifth, or even more, including appropriated tythes, of all the landed revenues in England. But, as in all cases of property managed upon this principle, the lessee exercises most of the rights of ownership over the land thus hired, and pays a much smaller consideration for it than any other tenant, even if the suppressed corporations actually possessed the freehold of such extensive estates, the proceeds to them were unquestionably far less than those which would have been obtained by a lay proprietor. However, in addition to their fixed revenues, the religious levied large sums upon the community, by means of the habitual mendicity practised by some orders, and by means

[y] Hume, Hist. Engl.

of masses, in which all convents traded, and by means of presents, which they were all ready to receive. It is therefore certain, that to these cloistered haunts of idleness and superstition, the fruits of industry must have found their way to a very great extent. Indeed, notwithstanding the enormous embezzlements which preceded the dissolution, an immense accumulation of valuable property seems to have been transferred from the monasteries to the royal exchequer. Bullion, to the value of five thousand marks, was found in the abbey of Bury alone[z]. An exact account, however, of the spoils derived from monasteries, will probably never be discovered: both the sovereign, and those whose fortunes were founded upon conventual property, were obviously interested in concealing from the people the full extent of the harvest which they had reaped; and therefore, it may reasonably be supposed, that a particular valuation of the confiscated wealth never was effected.

This omission may, however, be excused; for another, Henry's government deserves to be severely censured. Among the few benefits conferred by monks upon society, was the protection afforded by them during the middle ages to the remains of literature which yet lingered in Europe. This honourable feature in the monastic character, had caused the religious to accumulate, in many instances, very considerable libraries.

[z] Rapin, I. 821.

In these collections, it cannot be doubted, was much of that legendary trash, which forms the standing reproach of monkery, and much also of that scholastic subtlety, which served to exhaust the intellectual powers of able men in a former age, and from which the present would turn away with just contempt: yet it is most improbable, that a body of men, which had to boast of many respectable writers, should have failed to acquire and preserve numerous volumes of permanent importance. At all events, it would have been creditable to the reigning prince, and satisfactory to posterity, if all the monastic libraries had been carefully examined at the time of the suppression. But instead of this, the books appear to have been viewed, in many cases, merely as the least valuable articles of property which had come into the King's hands. They were commonly transferred, together with the conventual buildings, to such persons as obtained the dissolved houses from the crown either by grant or purchase; and as in those days the possession of literary treasures was not considered among the most envied privileges of opulence, the ignorant or mercenary grantees of a convent library too often thought upon it merely as that part of their new acquisitions, which was capable of being turned to the least account. Accordingly, the destruction of books which followed the suppression, appears to have been immense. It is indeed true, that during the progress of this shameful extermination, Leland was appointed by the crown,

and there arose in private life a few generous spirits to snatch from total oblivion a portion of the literary monuments accumulated in ages past; but these exertions were both late and limited: hence, before monastic libraries were deemed worthy of attention, the bulk of their contents had wholly disappeared*.

Nor can those who love to see the conceptions of genius realized by the hand of art, avoid a feeling of regret, when imagination dwells upon the barbarous havoc committed at the dissolution among the splendid triumphs of ancient English architecture. It was upon massy piles of building, that the middle ages exhausted all their taste and liberality. In their churches especially were displayed a magnificent prodigality of labour, boldness of design, felicity of combination, and grace of execution, which no feeling spectator can contemplate without admiration. Among the

* The following passages upon this subject are cited by Fuller from Bale, a contemporary authority, and certainly no friend to monkery. "A number of them who purchased those superstitious mansions, reserved of those library books some to serve their jakes, some to scour their candlesticks, and some to rub their boots; some they sold to the grocers and soap-sellers, and some they sent over sea to the book-binders, not in small number, but at times whole ships full. I know a merchant-man (which shall at this time be nameless) that bought the contents of two noble libraries for forty shillings price, a shame it is to be spoken. This stuff hath he occupied instead of grey paper, by the space of more than these ten years, and yet he hath store enough for as many years to come.—Our posterity may well curse this wicked fact of our age, this unreasonable spoil of England's most noble antiquities." Hist. of Abbeys, 335.

countries thus adorned, England still remains proudly conspicuous; and yet the destruction of her glorious fanes, when monkery was banished from the land, was most extensive. The crowded town, the rich and undulating surface of her southern counties, the sheltered vales of the more majestic North, could boast in former times of many splendid structures now mouldering in premature decay, or all but eluding the antiquary's endeavours even to trace their sites. Few Christians of sound judgment, and competent scriptural information, will deny that the total extirpation of monachism must be one of the first steps which a country, plunged in ignorance of God's recorded Word, must take when awakened to the value of that knowledge, which Heaven offers to mankind: but few individuals of taste will not feel, that from the ample revenues set at liberty by the dissolution, a pittance ought to have been reserved, if it were only to save from desecration and ruin a magnificent church, with its sepulchral memorials of departed greatness. Such a pile might have served the neighbouring population as a place of worship; and its preservation would have had, among other good effects, that of preventing interested or ignorant detractors of the Reformation from uttering some of their most specious invectives against the agents in that glorious emancipation of the human mind. Indeed the few remains of English abbeys which have survived the general wreck, as the noble churches of Westminster, St. Alban's, Tewkesbury, and

some others, the majestic ruins of many more, which yet, in the different stages of dilapidation, lend a melancholy dignity to some of our most pleasing rural scenes, irresistibly force a conviction upon the feeling observer, that, however laudable was the dissolution in principle, it was marked by an inexcusable want of taste and liberality.

If, however, the advice of Cranmer had been taken, in preference to that of mercenary courtiers, posterity would have had less occasion to regret the barbarous lengths to which was pushed the demolition of what was grand and venerable. The Primate indeed, aware that monkery and scriptural religion never flourished at one time in the same country, was anxious to drive idleness, imposture, and a faith fearing to be confronted with the Record, from their cloistered retreats; but he was little prepared to approve of that indiscriminate spoliation which followed the suppression. Against the course upon which the royal favourites were bent, he remonstrated so urgently, that at last he gave offence, and he found himself obliged to witness in silence an appropriation of the monastic revenues very different from that upon which he had calculated. His principal object was to reserve from the conventual estates ample funds for the erection of new episcopal sees, with appendant schools. This excellent plan was partially carried into execution. Six new bishoprics were erected; Westminster, Oxford, Bristol, Gloucester, Chester, and

Peterborough. To the first named of these sees the whole county of Middlesex, excepting Fulham, was assigned as a diocese; but as the Bishop of London was still resident within this contracted district, the little utility of the new arrangement soon became apparent; and after the incumbency of a single prelate, episcopal honours were denied to Westminster. The magnificent abbey-church, which had served as a cathedral, was then rendered collegiate; and thus the venerable resting-place of so many kings has been spared to dignify the metropolis of England. From the very laborious cure attached to the see of Lincoln, then extending over nine counties, were dismembered the dioceses of Oxford and Peterborough. Of the former, the bishop's seat was fixed at Oseney Abbey, in the immediate vicinity of Oxford; from which spot it was subsequently transferred to the church of the dissolved monastery of St. Frideswide, a gloomy pile adjoining Wolsey's college, then an unfinished monument of his princely care for letters, afterwards endowed by the King, and long known under the name of Christchurch, as one of the noblest institutions ever formed to benefit mankind. The mitred abbey of Peterborough, of which the splendid edifices are among the most conspicuous ornaments of that extensive level, rendered interesting by a profuse display of ecclesiastical magnificence, was converted into the see of a prelate, charged with governing the churches in the shires of Rutland and Northampton. The abbot's lodgings were appropriated as

a residence for the bishop; other conventual buildings furnished picturesque abodes for the inferior dignitaries and officers of the cathedral. Thus a splendid monument of ancient piety, grand and interesting in all its parts, unrivalled in its western front, for such is the church of Peterborough, was saved from the spoiler's unfeeling grasp. Dorsetshire was severed from the diocese of Salisbury, and placed under the inspection of a prelate seated in the abbey of St. Augustine at Bristol, a city which, with a small district of contiguous country, was also entrusted to his spiritual guidance. Proudly towering over a fertile vale, watered by Severn's noble tide, was reared the abbey-church of Gloucester, an edifice in which the massy magnificence of earlier architects is happily relieved by the graceful elegance of later times. This too was saved, to form the cathedral of a diocese dismembered from that of Worcester, and comprizing the whole of Gloucestershire, except Bristol and its immediate vicinity. In Chester, the most curious of our ancient towns, was preserved the abbey of St. Werburgh, as a see for a bishop, to whose care was committed a diocese of very large dimensions, now become, from the unparalleled extension of Protestant industry and commerce, the most populous in England. The new prelate's charge, dismembered from the dioceses of Lichfield and York, consisted of Cheshire, Lancashire, a considerable portion of Yorkshire, together with some districts in Westmoreland and Cumberland. It is perhaps to be regretted, that

this extensive cure was not entrusted to more than one prelate. Among the northern abbeys it had indeed been intended to render Fountains the seat of another bishop, a design which was practicable from the opulence of the house; and the unequalled magnificence of its ruins enforces a conviction, that the conventual church was more than usually deserving of preservation.

By the erection of these new bishoprics, not only were the spiritual wants of the kingdom treated with some attention, but also the influence of the Church in the Upper House of Parliament was, to a reasonable degree, protected from that shock which it received at the dissolution of monasteries. When that memorable event occurred, the spiritual and temporal lords were nearly equal in number. Forty-nine prelates, together with the prior of St. John of Jerusalem, had usually received a summons to attend the great council of the nation. At that time the lay peers only amounted to fifty-three. The dissolution, however, removed from the legislature twenty-eight abbots[b], and the half-clerical prior of St. John's.

[b] "The number of the mitred abbots are reckoned twenty-seven by Fuller, twenty-eight by the Lord Herbert, and twenty-nine by Sir Edward Coke." (Collier, II. 164.) Of this variation, the reason appears to be, that at different periods exactly the same number of abbots was not summoned to Parliament. The abbot of Tavistock was made a lord of Parliament by patent in the beginning of this reign. (Ibid.) "In the journals of Parliament in this reign, these twenty-eight abbots had their writs: Abingdon, St. Alban's, St. Austin's Canterbury, Battle, St. Benet's in the Holm, Berdeney, Cirencester, Colchester, Co-

Probably some men may think, that if the Church's direct political influence had been anni-

ventry, Croyland, St. Edmundsbury, Evesham, Glastonbury, Gloucester, Hyde, Malmsbury, St. Mary's in York, Peterborough, Ramsey, Reading, Selby, Shrewsbury, Tavistock, Tewksbury, Thorney, Waltham, Westminster, and Winchelcombe; to whom also the prior of St. John's may be added. But besides all these, I find that in the twenty-eighth year of this King, the abbot of Burton upon Trent sat in Parliament. Generally Coventry and Burton were held by the same man, as one bishop held both Coventry and Lichfield; but in that year they were held by two different persons, and both had their writs to that Parliament." (Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 414.) "There were other abbeys, though of lesser quality, yet of wealthier endowments than several of the parliamentary abbots. I shall mention six. Fountains, Lewes, Chester, Leicester, Merton, Furness." (Collier, II. 165.) "Besides these abbots, there were four abbesses, *viz.* of Shaftsbury, Barking in Essex, St. Mary's in Winchester, and Wilton, who held from the King an entire barony; yet never were summoned as baronesses to Parliament; because that honour was never conferred upon any ecclesiastical female. Yet were they, and almost all other abbesses of any quality, saluted ladies, as earls' daughters are by the courtesy of England, which custom hath made such a right, that they are beheld not only as unmannerly, but unjust, who, in common discourse, deny the same. However, the aforesaid four abbesses, though not called to Parliament, were solemnly summoned by special writs *ad habendum servitium suum*, that is, to have their full number of knights in time of war. Of all these, (abbots,) the prior of St. John's in Jerusalem took the precedence, being generally of noble extraction and a military person. Next him the abbot of St. Alban's took place above all of his order." (Fuller, Hist. of Abbeys, 294.) The MS. historian of the Reformation (Bibl. Harl.) thus speaks of the alteration effected in the House of Lords by the suppression of monasteries: "The Parliament hath been pitifully maimed in its spiritual members, for the spiritual lords (who by the ancient custom of the realm ought to be equal in

hilated, instead of thus impaired, an advantage would have been conferred upon the country. But any rational mind which has candidly viewed the question in all its bearings, will hardly fail to become convinced that a state, providing religious instruction for its subjects, wisely admits the ecclesiastical body to a share in the legislative deliberations. Clerical interests, like every other, are most securely protected by those intimately acquainted with them, and personally concerned in them: nor can questions affecting religion be satisfactorily decided by men not responsible professionally for their opinions.

Among the dissolved monasteries, eight were appended to cathedrals, and their revenues were partially or wholly restored to those churches[c]. By this arrangement an act of justice was done to the memory of those who originally founded such establishments. The encroaching spirit of Popery had, in several instances, succeeded in ejecting from their cloistered homes the clergy seated around the mother-church of a diocese. These were now restored, under the names of a dean and prebendaries. Another judicious appropriation of conventual wealth was the foundation of Trinity College in Cambridge, the magnificent seminary whence Newton and many other illustrious

number to the temporal lords) are overborne by the temporal, to a mighty mischief to the Church, and to no little one in the Commonwealth."

[c] Canterbury, Winchester, Ely, Norwich, Worcester, Rochester, Durham, and Carlisle. Fuller, 338.

scholars have proceeded to benefit and dignify mankind. From monastic hoards were also funds supplied for the completion of that gorgeous pile, so pre-eminent among the architectural glories of English Universities, the chapel of King's College in Cambridge. This immense mass of elaborate embellishment had proceeded languidly since the time when the last monarch of the house of Lancaster[d] had determined to signalize his feeble and unhappy reign by such a monument. Now, however, the treasures poured into the royal coffers enabled his more fortunate successor to finish the magnificent design conceived at a less auspicious period. Besides these useful and honourable undertakings, the King erected several works of defence for the protection of the southern coast, a portion of his dominions most exposed to aggressions from abroad. Towards the close of his life, Henry devoted more of the monastic property to public uses. The monastery of the Grey Friars[e], and the hospital of St. Bartholomew, both

[d] Henry VI. who founded, probably taking the hint from William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, the colleges of Eton and King's, the latter as a place for finishing the education begun at the former. Not only in this respect do the two colleges founded by Henry resemble those established by the munificence of Wykeham, but also in another point of very questionable utility, King's in Cambridge is the counterpart of New College in Oxford. The members of both those learned societies are admitted to degrees after an examination, not conducted publicly, but before the seniors of their own house.

[e] Now known as Christ's Hospital, or, in familiar language the Blue-coat School. "The death of Charles Brandon, Duke

in London, were appropriated as refuges to indigence; the one, for persons labouring under accident or illness, the other for unprovided infancy. These benefactions of his father's were confirmed and enlarged by the youthful Edward during his brief but honourable career; and they yet maintain the first rank among the benevolent institutions of a metropolis which, in deeds of mercy, has far outdone any city of either ancient or modern times. In addition to these acts of well-directed munificence, Henry founded some grammar schools, of which those of Canterbury, Coventry, and Worcester, are perhaps most worthy of mention. Had all his deeds resembled these, no prince would have deserved better of posterity, and even enemies to the Reformation would, if men of candour, have found a difficulty in denying that the overgrown revenues, accumulated by monks during ages of ignorance, were wisely entrusted to the disposal of a monarch who possessed the ability to discern, and the integrity to effect appropriations of such unquestionable importance.

But unfortunately for the credit of Henry, it was with him as with most men: the ease with

of Suffolk, his beloved brother-in-law, happening the July before, so impressed King Henry with a serious apprehension of his own mortality, (such the sympathy of converse, and no great disparity of age betwixt them,) that he thought it high time to bethink himself of his end, and to do some good work in order thereunto. Hereupon, on the 15th of January following, anno 1546, he bestowed the said hospitals on the city." Fuller, 339.

which his wealth was acquired led him to carelessness and profusion. Personal gratifications, and an almost unlimited compliance with the importunities of those abject and insinuating sycophants whose levity and adulation too generally amuse the idle hours and feed the pride of greatness, quickly dissipated the bulk of those treasures which convents had supplied. In this early distribution of monastic opulence there was, however, something of policy. Cromwell recommended, that, by means of numerous grantees, a party should be formed, interested in the dissolution, strong enough to render hopeless any prospect of restoring monkery. This shrewd advice was sufficiently agreeable to Henry's habits and inclinations. Never, accordingly, before, since the Conquest, did so many families suddenly rise to opulence, as soon after the dissolution. Not only were the most distinguished courtiers and officers of state enabled to enrich their posterity by a splendid inheritance of abbey land, but even humbler individuals, who came in contact with the King, watched their opportunity to solicit for a share of this extensive property. So notorious did Henry's prodigality become, that stories were in circulation of his having rewarded with an estate a servant who had put him into a good humour, by placing his chair at a convenient distance from the fire. Even by means of gambling, it is said, some of the conventual property passed into the hands of his subjects. This dis-

graceful mode of conveyance is believed to have transferred to Sir Miles Partridge a fine ring of bells, against which he had staked 100*l.* in a game at dice with his royal master. Thus the monarch's facility of disposition, and expensive habits, aided by unfavourable exchanges and improvident sales, were not long in rendering great numbers of persons in all stations adverse, from interested motives, to the revival of monachism. Nor can it be denied that, after the monastic properties had once passed both from their ancient owners and the public purse, they were vested with sufficient propriety in various noble and private families.

There was, indeed, one very considerable branch of the conventual revenues which ought, in justice, to have been restored to the Church. The religious houses had gradually but perseveringly encroached upon the parochial clergy, until they had deprived that useful body of not less than two-fifths of the tythes set apart for their maintenance. This grievous abuse had originally been accomplished by means of an engagement made by the monasteries, that one of their body should be sent to perform the duties in those parishes of which the tythes had been appropriated to the use of their house. But this arrangement was found productive of so little satisfaction to the parishioners, that it was eventually superseded by the appointment of a regular incumbent, who, being presented by the society, and per-

forming duties properly devolving upon them, was termed their vicar, or substitute[f]. For the maintenance of this priest, either the small tythes of his parish, or some other endowment, commonly one very inadequate to the purpose, was set apart. The poverty in which were commonly plunged vicars and stipendiary curates had long been a matter of complaint and notoriety; hence it is not creditable to Henry's government, that the opportunity of remedying this evil, afforded by the dissolution, should have been overlooked. But either the heavy incumbrances under which the conventual estates came into the King's possession rendered them much less productive than had been anticipated, or the insatiate rapacity of those in power would not allow any description of property to elude their grasp. The suppression vested in the crown all the appropriations of religious houses, and hence many of the best tythe estates have become irrevocably lay fees. Of this arrangement, it is not one of the least evils, that the largest cures are commonly the worst endowed. The conventual appropriators reasoned, that not only the tythes of an extensive

[f] "Qui *vicem* alicujus gerit." (Ainsworth.) Probably the monastic superior retained the privilege of directing any chantry priests who might be attached to a church of which the parsonage was appended to his house; as the incumbent who retains the tythes of his parish is styled *rector*, a designation now, from the inaccurate and disrespectful manner in which the word *parson* has been applied in later times, generally used by correct and courteous speakers to designate holders of benefices retaining the great tythes.

parish were more desirable than than those of a small one, but also that, in the former case, a numerous population would augment the vicar's resources, by employing him to say masses, and by placing within his reach various other perquisites. However, soon after the dissolution, the lucrative devices of superstition were exploded, and since that time the vicar too often finds services of great responsibility, constantly requiring his attention, most inadequately remunerated.

The lay impropriations are, indeed, the principal cause of the straitened circumstances in which so many of the English clergy pass their lives. To the same source must also be traced the pluralities, non-residence, and scanty provision for unbeneficed ministers, which furnish the envious, the ill-informed, and the malignant adversaries of our Church establishment, with a never-failing supply of specious topics for illiberal declamation. It has, indeed, been said, that the extensive interest in tythes felt by the laity, has been the means of preserving to the Church the portion of that property which she still retains. But in a country which, like England, contains comparatively a very small number of persons occupying land of their own, it is evident that the abolition of tythes would confer no benefit whatever upon those who need assistance most. Even were every cultivator his own landlord, there is no reason why individuals of his class in particular should receive an augmentation of their property, amounting to one-fifth of its value, without any exertion of their own

industry. But English agriculturalists are usually tenants; and therefore it is certain, that if tythe-holders existed no longer, the farmer would be no otherwise affected by the change, than in having to pay in the shape of an increase to the rent of his land, fully as much as he had formerly paid under the denomination of tythe. He would have to deal with one proprietor instead of two; but there is not the least reason to believe that his own profits would derive from that circumstance the smallest addition. Most men, therefore, of good sense and candour, will arise from a careful consideration of tythes under a conviction, that, although in a revolutionary scramble for property, those who should obtain land might do well to keep it from incumbrance of every kind; yet while other individuals are allowed to retain what they have fairly acquired, an annihilation of the tythe-owner's claim would only operate to increase the wealth of that class which is already endowed with the largest share of worldly goods.

Before the subject of monastic establishments is dismissed from notice, it may be observed, that they supplied an asylum and a plan of operations to those gloomy or ardent spirits which impel men almost irresistibly to morose and fanatical views of religion. For thus retaining within her pale, and rendering subservient to her policy, a numerous class ever difficult to satisfy or restrain, the Church of Rome has sometimes received considerable applause, even from Protestants. Nor can it be denied, that the total neglect to which

the more considerable reformed Churches have abandoned eccentricities in religion, has a tendency to tempt many persons away from their communion, who would have willingly continued in it had they found there facilities for the development of their peculiar views. Such are afforded by the institution of ascetic brahmins, dervises, and faquirs in Asia; such, by that of monks and hermits, and more completely still of mendicant friars, in Europe. Was the mind of any one unusually depressed by a review of his past life? The cowl, the hair shirt, the scourge, the oft-recurring fast, the incessant calls to social worship, the renunciation of worldly pleasures, the dependence upon casual charity even for daily bread, would solace the mind of such a penitent with a conviction, that his mortification bore some reasonable proportion to his iniquities. If also a man of warm imagination and impetuous passions had imbibed a powerful feeling of religion; or if an artful hypocrite had preferred a life of cant to one of labour; the whining, begging friar, was the character which he could support with most satisfaction and applause. His ministrations would be gratefully received by such spirits as his own, and by nearly all who, after a life of gross spiritual negligence, were at last alarmed by the near prospect of its close. It must, therefore, be admitted, that in organising the enthusiastic and hypocritical portions of society, the Church of Rome has shewn that worldly wisdom which has marked the whole of her re-

markable career. It is not, however, true that she has thereby prevented those dissensions to which religious societies, like all others, are liable. Indeed a spirit of party was carefully fostered by the friars, who magnified their own sanctity and ministrations to the disparagement of the parochial clergy, by whom they were cordially detested. Not contented with thus exercising strife and rivalry with the ordinary ministers of religion, the different monastic orders have maintained the keenest contentions among themselves. Whether our Lord's mother, according to the flesh, was free from sin, and whether she retained her virginity to the end of life, are questions equal in folly to any reveries of Protestant enthusiasts, which different monkish confederacies have debated with each other in all the heat and animosity of party zeal. When to the divisions thus existing among the dregs of the Romish communion, are added those respecting grace and predestination, which have agitated Papists of better judgment, it becomes evident that their Church greatly overrates her unity. The art and authority of Popes, as was to be expected, have never succeeded in reducing to the same level the views taken by different minds keenly attentive to religious subjects. It is true that all Romanists agree in admitting tradition to decide matters of faith, and in owning the papal supremacy: two things which all Protestants are agreed in denying. Upon less important questions a latitude of opinion prevails among the members of both the

great parties which divide the religious world in the west of Europe. The diversity of sentiment is, indeed, far more evident among the reformed than in the Romish Church, because the latter, being a political system acting through the agency of a religious sect, does not allow her subjects such a degree of liberty as may tempt them to question her authority. But still that absolute uniformity of opinion which Romanists are so fond of claiming for their Church has never, in truth, existed except in the partial and exaggerated statements of their polemics.

When intelligence was received at Rome that monasteries, those strong holds of the papal usurpation, were likely to be soon swept from the face of England, the angry passions of the Pontiff and his creatures were furiously aroused. His capital, so famed for works of art, so infamous in the estimation of many pious Christians, was inundated with invectives and pasquinades levelled against the character and policy of Henry. History, sacred and profane, was ransacked for examples of atrocious tyranny, which, being dressed up in popular language, were exhibited as faithful representations of his conduct. In some of these libels, he was said to be abandoned, like Pharaoh, to impenetrable hardness of heart; in others, to be a savage persecutor, like Nebuchadnezzar; boldly and stupidly profane, like Belshazzar; horridly thirsting for the blood of pious and virtuous men, like Nero, Domitian, Diocletian. But of all the hateful characters in ages

past, no one was thought to fit him so completely as that of the apostate Julian. This literary emperor, who bent the whole force of his power and abilities to crush the holy religion in which he had been educated, was esteemed an exact prototype of Henry; like Julian, a scholar, and like him too, the ravager of a Church to which he had once yielded obedience. It may indeed be readily supposed, that to burn and ridicule relics and idols, to expose the gross frauds by which sanctimonious cheats had beguiled men of their money, and of, what is greatly more valuable, the principles of sound religion; were far from being considered venial faults at Rome, a city long the mart for impositions of every kind. But these acts of the King, offensive as they were, did not seem to papal statesmen the most inexcusable parts of his conduct. That he should have ventured to dissolve those organised bands of their Pontiff's myrmidons, which had been established in cloistered settlements through every part of England; that he should have ignominiously disinterred the bones of Becket, and assembled a court, which pronounced it treason to obey the mandate of a foreign ecclesiastic, rather than one's country's laws, were thought his crimes of deepest dye. It was pronounced that the unceremonious treatment bestowed on venerated relics of mortality at Canterbury and elsewhere, was waging war with the saints in heaven, a savage excess of profaneness and brutality, to which not even the ages of Pagan darkness could afford a parallel. The Pon-

tiff now took his last leave of that friendly disposition towards the King, which he had professed to feel on the news of Anne Boleyn's misfortunes, and the bull of excommunication, drawn up three years before, but hitherto represented as a feint to frighten a rebellious son, was formally promulged. Paul said, that according to Jeremiah's words, "he was set over nations and kingdoms, to root up and destroy;" and he accounted for the suspension of his pontifical thunder during three years, by assuring the world, that being the successor of St. Peter, who obtained mercy from his blessed Master after his fall, he thought it becoming his character to treat with similar lenity one who had so grievously fallen; but that, since the hope of amendment which had dictated the suspension, was now frustrated, as must be inferred from the indignities offered to the remains of the Canterbury saint[g], and by the ejection of the

[g] "Cujus ossa, quæ in dicto regno Angliæ potissimum, *ob innumera ab Omnipotenti Deo illic perpetrata miracula*, summa cum veneratione in arcu aurea in civitate Cantuarien. servabantur." (Burnet, Hist. Ref. Records, I. 257.) Such words occurring in a bull issued regularly from Rome, go a considerable way towards exculpating the English government in its treatment of Archbishop Becket's remains. It is plain, that while a fragment of the murdered prelate's body was known to be in existence, it would afford the means of practising impositions upon credulous bigots. Another passage in Paul's bull must appear sufficiently amusing to those who recollect the council of Constance, and its proceedings. "Ipsum Divum Thomam, ad majorem religionis contemptum, in judicium vocari, et tanquam contumacem damnari ac proditorem declarari fecerat, exhumari, et comburi, ac cineres in ventum spargi jussit, *omnem plane*

monks, for the purpose of supplying their places with wild beasts[h]; therefore he would no longer hesitate publicly to release Englishmen from the most sacred obligations, and to pronounce their King no longer a lawful possessor of his throne. In order to satisfy the scruples of those who might be disposed to disturb the peace of society upon such an authority, if any such person should be found, Paul concluded by declaring that the affixing of this bull in some conspicuous place at Dieppe, or Boulogne, in France; at St. Andrew's, or Coldstream, in Scotland; at Tuam, or Ardfert, in Ireland, or at any two of these places, should be deemed a sufficient publication.

Sensible, however, that the days were past in which those who claimed to be the successors of St. Peter could shake the stability of thrones by the mere force of bold pretensions, the Pontiff did not forget to intrigue as well as excommunicate. He endeavoured, by letter, to excite the hostility of Henry's nearest neighbours, the Kings of France

cunctarum gentium crudelitatem superans, cum ne in bello quidem hostes victores sævire in mortuorum cadavera soliti sunt." One might think from these words, that his Holiness had never heard of that which the Constantine fathers decreed respecting the remains of Wickliffe: to whose grave, however, no unhappy dupes were decoyed under an expectation of witnessing miracles.

[h] "*Sicut se in belluam transmutavit, ita etiam belluas quasi socias suas honorare voluit*, feras videlicet in dicto monasterio, expulsis monachis, intromittendo." The Romish writers never fail to inform us of the treatment received by Henry from Luther. If, however, that was so very inexcusable, what are we to think of the Pope, and of Cardinal Pole?

and Scotland. To the latter, as if more certain of his co-operation, he transmitted a brief, in which he represented Henry as a heretic, a schismatic, a manifest adulterer, a public murderer, and a rebel convicted of high treason against him, the Pope, his lord; for which crimes, it was added, he had deposed his mutinous vassal; and now offered his dominions to James[i]. Probably anticipating the Pope's intrigues and intemperance, Henry had, early in the year, caused a refutation of the papal pretensions to be prepared and signed by all the bishops, together with several clergymen of inferior note. This paper contained the following words: "The Pope ought to be instructed, that Christ did expressly forbid his Apostles, or their successors, to take to themselves the power of the sword, or the authority of kings. And that, if the Bishop of Rome, or any other bishop, assumed any such power, he was a tyrant, an usurper of other men's rights, and a subverter of the kingdom of Christ[k]." These truths were rendered evident to the apprehension of every rational man in the country, not wilfully negligent or blind, by a general and authorised dissemination of the holy Scriptures. A new series of injunctions was issued by Cromwell for the direction of the parochial clergy; in which, after a strict exhortation to obedience, occasioned by the well-known neglect with which the injunctions of 1536 had been treated, it was ordered, that in

[i] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 384. [k] Ibid.

every parish a Bible of the largest size should be provided at the joint expense of the incumbent and parishioners; that it should be placed in some convenient situation within the church; and that every facility should be afforded to those who desired to read it, or hear it read; inasmuch as it is "the very lively Word of God, that every Christian man is bound to embrace, believe, and follow, if he look to be saved." At the same time, clergymen were directed both in the Vicar-general's injunctions [l], and in a contemporaneous royal proclamation [m], to repress, as far as possible, all unseemly controversy, especially among ignorant people at houses of public entertainment, respecting the right understanding of that important volume, which at last was freely opened to the nation. In every part of England, the hitherto unknown revelation of God's will excited the keenest attention. Not only persons of superior station and intelligence, but also the humbler members of society, flocked to those places where a Bible was to be found. In that unlettered age reading was an accomplishment but scantily diffused; and those who possessed it, found their services eagerly put into requisition to furnish their less fortunate neighbours with some portion of that divine knowledge, which papal artifice had so long placed beyond the reach of ordinary men. Some elderly persons, not satisfied with

[l] Printed by Burnet, Hist. Ref. Records, I. 260.
[m] Printed by Strype, Mem. Cranm. Appendix, 725.

possessing the mere chance of finding others able and willing to read God's Word in their hearing, undertook the labour of acquiring a knowledge of letters themselves, for the sole purpose of cheering their declining age with the perusal of that book, which alone can minister solid consolation to the mind of man. Even boys, forgetting their natural aversion to what is serious, were powerfully affected by the laudable spirit of curiosity then prevailing, and eagerly ranged themselves among the auditors of those who read portions of God's Word. The effects of this sudden illumination soon became conspicuous. Persons of every rank and every age suddenly rose superior to the grovelling prejudices amidst which they had been reared: not only were the images of mere men and women viewed with contempt and aversion, but even the representations of the Saviour were now treated by many with neglect, as objects which no Christian acquainted with his Bible, was justified in treating with veneration[n].

In unison with the excellent design of opening God's Word to the people, were conceived the remainder of Cromwell's injunctions. Clergymen were ordered to teach the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Decalogue, in English, to their congregations; to explain from the pulpit, once in every quarter at least, the terms of man's acceptance with God, for the purpose of diverting people from a reliance upon pilgrimages, relics,

[n] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 91.

counting beads, or any thing short of a true faith attested by an amended life. From churches were to be removed all images which had attracted the visits of pilgrims, or become the objects of conspicuous attention to the superstitious. No candles were to be allowed before images, but only before the cross, the sepulchre, and the consecrated wafer. The people were to be taught, that images served to the unlearned the place of books, being erected for the purpose of commemorating the meritorious actions of good men; but that any use of them beyond this was idolatry, on which account the King had removed many of them, and meant to remove many more. Persons who had made pilgrimages to images, or who had worshipped them, were to be brought to a confession of their sin, and to be taught, that the respect paid to these objects was a vulgar error, gradually introduced into the Church by the criminal connivance of those interested in it. Another injunction rendered it imperative upon incumbents to record all the marriages, baptisms, and burials, solemnized by them: thus requiring the formation of parish registers, a judicious arrangement to be dated from this time. Knolling the *aves* after service was to be discontinued, as being intended to obtain the Pope's pardon; and it was recommended, that the practice of addressing *ora pro nobis* to saints in processions, should be superseded by a direct address to the Deity himself. By this clause it became optional with the officiating minister, whether he would invoke saints or

not; a licence which, together with a general opportunity of access to the Bible, conferred a great advantage upon the Protestant party. Discerning prelates, such as Cranmer and a few others, with the more conscientious and judicious lay patrons, were thus enabled, by a discreet exercise of their rights, to confer upon a parish, so often as a benefice in their gift should become vacant, the advantage to be derived from a minister who would give to the liberal intentions of the government their utmost effect. At such a time the right of patronage became a trust of the greatest importance: indeed at no period can a conscientious mind consider that privilege to entail a slight responsibility upon its possessor, which, if administered with discrimination and liberality, enables the more distinguished members of society to secure for their age and country the inestimable advantage of an able and pious ministry.

About this time Cranmer offered an address to the King[o], of which the object was to carry the Reformation farther. After premising that no business of importance, especially of a religious nature, ought to be concluded without mature deliberation; that general councils have shewn themselves unworthy of confidence, unless when

[o] Collier (II. 167.) has extracted the particulars of this address from a MS. in the Cotton library. Its precise date is unknown, but from its bearing chiefly upon the marriage of the clergy, it was probably presented to Henry about this time. It was certainly not drawn up before the year 1536, because mention is made in it of the royal injunctions.

contented to frame their decisions strictly according to God's undoubted Word; and that the services of such bodies are of little value in an age abounding with scholars competent to ascertain the sense of Scripture; the Archbishop endeavoured to soothe any angry feelings, which the recollection of Luther might excite, by remarking the boldness to which polemics had arrived, such indeed as to make them treat even a sovereign, who should argue with them, no more ceremoniously than any ordinary disputant. He then proceeded to remark, that "both men of the new learning[p], as they are called, and those who adhere to the Papacy, agree that priests are not forbidden to marry by the Word of God." It was, however, admitted, that some expositors have deduced a contrary opinion from Scripture; but, it was added, upon this subject, as upon all others, diversity of sentiment must be expected to prevail among men; a circumstance indeed little to be lamented, inasmuch as the collision of intellects often strikes out important truths long dormant, as had recently been observable in the case

[p] This was, and is still, it might seem, a favourite mode among the Romanists, of characterising the Reformers. Dr. Lingard makes abundant use of this designation. Ignorant people are thus led to believe, that the peculiar doctrines of Romanism are those of the ancient Catholic Church, and that those of Protestants originated with Luther, or perhaps with Wickliffe. Any man, however, who has examined ecclesiastical history rather more narrowly than a confessor would recommend, will be disposed to say of such a notion, with the satirist Horace, "*Credat Judæus Apella; non ego.*"

of the papal supremacy. Having adverted to the discrepancy of opinions, so agreeable to Henry, upon this subject, Cranmer drew his attention to other matters, upon which great varieties of sentiment prevailed. He suggested for consideration, whether purgatory, and the invocation of saints, are taught in Scripture? whether any unwritten verities, conveyed by oral tradition, are integral parts of a Christian's creed? whether such are to be considered supplemental articles of faith? or whether he is bound to believe nothing unless contained in Holy Writ, and unless fairly deducible from some plain text? whether there is any satisfaction beside that of Christ[q]? whether the will of man possesses sufficient strength to obtain grace of congruity[r]? whether the kissing of

[q] A question referring to the sacrifice said to be offered by Romish priests in the celebration of mass. Besides the bearing of this query upon the mass, it also glanced at an opinion maintained by some of the schoolmen, that Christ died as a satisfaction for original sin alone, and consequently that the actual sins of men require another atonement. See Archbishop Laurence's Bampton Lectures. Notes on Sermon III. p. 261.

[r] This refers to a conceit of the schoolmen, against which Luther contended, and which is thus defined by Archbishop Laurence, (182.) "According to the system under consideration, the favour of God in this life, and his beatific presence in the life to come, are both attainable by personal merit; the former by *congruous*, as it was termed, the latter by *condign;* the one without, the other with, the assistance of grace. By our natural strength, it was said, we can fulfil the commandments of God, as far as their obligation extends: we cannot merit heaven itself without works of condignity, yet we can merit the means of obtaining it by works of congruity. Considering, therefore, the

our Saviour's image, in honour of him, is forbidden in Scripture? and, in fine, whether images may be used conscientiously in any other manner than that recommended in the royal injunctions? In the uncertainty which appeared to hang over these questions at that time, it was respectfully submitted to his Highness, whether it would not be the better course to suspend his judgment upon them until they should be solemnly argued by some eminent scholars, selected for that purpose, from the two universities. Such umpires, the Archbishop suggested, might also come to a decision upon the marriage of the clergy; and he expressed himself contented to have every priest, who had entered into the connubial state, punished with death, if it could be shewn that he had thereby offended against the divine law. This conclusion to his address renders it evident, that a principal object with Cranmer in offering these considerations to his sovereign's notice, was to remove the uneasiness naturally prevailing in his own family, and in that of many other clergymen, respecting the lawfulness of clerical marriages. Not only were such marriages liable to be set aside by means of canons, which were allowed in this respect to supersede the common law, but even the principle upon which they had been con-

latter as introductory to the former, they stated, that we may so prepare ourselves for grace, as to become entitled to it congruously, not as to a debt, which God, in strict justice, is bound to pay, but as to a grant, which it is congruous in him to give, and which it would be inconsistent with his attributes to withhold."

tracted, had been almost universally denied in the west of Europe during three centuries or more. The King indeed is said to have been sometimes inclined to withhold no longer from the English clergy that privilege, which, under the sanction of law, human and divine, their predecessors had freely exercised before the national church was completely enslaved by the persevering artifices of Papal Rome[*]; but his Romish advisers were very much upon the alert to prevent him from making this concession. They appear to have thought, that if a demise of the crown, or some other event, should allow their Church to emerge from her temporary eclipse, the bulk of the clergy would gladly return to the unqualified admission of those principles, on the side of which all their early prejudices were enlisted. But of a relapse into Popery on the part of such priests as had contracted matrimony, there were no hopes. It was therefore natural enough in the zealous Pa-

[*] So said by Strype (Mem. Cranm. 99.) on the authority of "Bishop Ponet, or whoever else was the author of the defence of priests' marriage." However, in Strype's Eccl. Mem. (I. Appendix, 392.) is a document which renders this statement doubtful. It is a few notes in Latin, drawn up by the King himself, against clerical marriages. In this short paper is cited a text from Timothy (2 Tim. ii. 4.) recommending the soldier of Christ not to entangle himself with worldly business; which is expounded as a prohibition of clerical marriages. A Protestant might wonder how his Majesty's Romish advisers came to overlook this text, when they and their friends entered upon those legal and political employments, which so much engrossed the attention of church dignitaries in those days.

pists to regard with uneasiness clerical marriages, and to use every means of impeding a practice fraught with serious obstacles to a revival of their sect's ascendancy. On the other hand, the Protestant party could not fail of considering the renunciation of priestly celibacy as a certain means of engaging on the side of a religious reform the passions of many clergymen unable or unwilling to investigate theological questions. Cranmer, therefore, naturally felt anxious to procure for himself and his brethren a recognition of their right to marry, not only as a personal relief, but also as an expedient certain to promote the cause of scriptural religion. However, his efforts for the attainment of this object proved unavailing; and although his sovereign would not distress the Archbishop by condemning such clergymen as lived privately with their wives, yet, in the November of this year, he gratified the Romanists by issuing a proclamation, which rendered priests, living openly as married men, liable to the loss of all their preferments[t].

The King's proceedings in dissolving monasteries, clearing the churches of relics, and exposing

[t] This proclamation does not preclude all hope that clerical marriages would eventually be recognised. In it are found these words: "His Highness in no wise minding that the generality of the clergy of this his realm should with the example of such a few number of *light persons*, proceed to marriage, without a common consent of his Highness and his realm." From this stigma of *lightness*, Cranmer, however, is carefully excluded, as the priests thus designated are those who "*have attempted marriages that be openly known.*" Strype, Mem. Cranm. 98.

the frauds of Popery, gave great satisfaction to the German Protestants, who now conceived hopes that England would soon be thoroughly purged from the leaven of Romish abuses. Under this impression they gladly entertained the project, so often agitated, of sending some of their more distinguished divines for the purpose of discussing the principles of Protestantism with the English prelates and doctors. Henry would fain have received a visit at this time from Melancthon; but that learned and amiable reformer again declined the voyage, which he had been so often solicited to undertake. Burckhardt, Myconius, and one or two others, were, however, despatched from the German confederates; and the first named individual brought over with him a warm recommendation of himself from Melancthon, addressed to the King. Soon after the learned foreigners had arrived in our island, they proceeded to discuss, principally with Bishop Tunstall, and two assistants, who were appointed by his Majesty to undertake that business, the several articles in the Confession of Augsburg; a formulary which Henry's German allies desired to have formally received in England. The discussion appears to have been conducted chiefly, if not entirely, in writing, and to have been purposely protracted by the English disputants with a view to tire out the patience of their foreign opponents. The Bishops Tunstall, Gardiner, and Stokesley were indeed secretly in league with each other to resist all farther ecclesiastical altera-

tions as much as they prudently could[n], and they did not forget to interpose every impediment that a refined policy could suggest to render the German mission completely nugatory. Accordingly, a debate of two months might be said to have produced no result whatever; since it only led, on the part of the English divines, to a recognition of those leading articles in the Catholic faith, which the Church of England had already twice adopted from the Confession of Augsburg. The foreigners, backed by Cranmer's influence, endeavoured to engage their opponents in an examination of the second portion of the Augsburg Confession, that treating of the abuses alleged to have been introduced by Popery into the Catholic Church; but all the efforts used to accomplish this object proved ineffectual; and at last, Myconius falling dangerously sick, the delegates returned home without being allowed an opportunity of doing that for which alone they had visited England. However, before their departure, they prepared a dissertation, addressed to the King, upon half-communion, private masses, and clerical celibacy; the three abuses upon which they considered the papal usurpation to be chiefly

[n] See a letter from Sampson, Bishop of Chichester, to Cromwell. (Strype, Eccl. Mem. Appendix, I. 381.) It is dated from the Tower, where Sampson was confined on a discovery of his double dealing with respect to religion. From his communication, it appears that Gardiner conducted himself with his usual cunning, and rather countenanced the intrigues of Stokesley and Tunstall, than openly took a share in them.

founded. To this paper Tunstall was ordered, by his Majesty; to frame a reply; and he executed his task in a manner highly creditable to his learning and ingenuity [x].

Against half-communion the German divines alleged our Lord's words when he distributed the cup; "Drink ye *all* of it [y]:" and also the following text from St. Paul; "Let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread, *and drink of that cup* [z]." From these passages, it was argued, that communion in both kinds is plainly obligatory upon all Christians; and that, if it be contended, the cup was distributed by Christ to his Apostles alone, who, as predecessors of the hierarchy, are to be considered as priests, that reason must be sufficient to deprive the laity of the bread also, and thus to confine the Eucharist wholly to the clergy. Nor, it was added, will considerations of convenience or custom avail in a case resting upon a divine institution, or consist with that decision of the canonists, which pronounces, that no custom can prescribe against the laws of God. Nor, again, can antiquity be pleaded in defence of half-communion; for St. Jerome says, "the priests administer the holy Eucharist, and distribute Christ's blood to the people;" and Pope Gelasius calls it "a great sacrilege" to divide our Lord's body from his blood. The antiquity of whole communion was farther shewn by the example of

[x] Strype, Eccl. Mem. I. 509.

[y] St. Matt. xxvi. 27.

[z] 1 Cor. xi. 28.

the Greek Church, which, never having submitted to papal encroachments, had constantly given the cup to the laity.

Private masses were designated as the atlas which sustains the Papacy, the grand secret of extracting gain from seeming godliness, the principle upon which Popes had succeeded in overrunning countries with their monkish satellites. Of this practice, it was said, no traces are to be found in Scripture, nothing but receiving the Eucharist as a social act; nor will he who reads his Bible find there the least reason to suppose, that masses are any sacrifice for sin, anywise meritorious in the sight of God [a], or in the smallest degree beneficial to those who do not partake of the consecrated elements. Not only, however, it was added, will any authority for this monstrous abuse be vainly sought in Scripture; it also plainly contradicts the doctrine of justification through faith alone: it likewise denies, in spite of St. Paul's assertion to the contrary, the sufficiency of Christ's sacrifice [b], and introduces the impious, but lucrative figment, that the sufferings of Calvary atoned merely for original sin [c]; men's actual transgres-

[a] "Quòd docent ex *opere operato*, ut loquuntur, mereri gratiam, et tollere peccata vivorum et mortuorum." Letter from the German ambassadors to the King. Addenda to Burnet, Hist. Ref. Records, I. 477.

[b] Heb. x. 12, 14.

[c] "Potest etiam quidquam magis impium dici, quam *illi* de missis istis docuerunt? Nempe quod Christus sua passione satisfecerit pro peccatis originis, et instituerit missam, in qua

sions must be expiated by such masses as they may choose to pay for.

By the prohibition of marriage, the Pope was said to be evidently marked out as the anti-christ, by whom apostolic predictions declared the Church should be afflicted[d]. The repugnance of this prohibition to Scripture was shewn by St. Paul's injunctions, that "to avoid fornication, every man should have his own wife[e];" that bishops, priests, and deacons, should be "husbands of one wife," and the fathers of a religious family[f]. The comparative novelty of this prohibition was shewn by the following facts; that Spiridion, a Cypriot bishop, and the majority of the ancient bishops, were married men with families; that Pope Sylverius was the son of Hormisdas, a bishop; Pope Theodore, of Theodore, Bishop of Jerusalem; Pope Adrian the Second, of Talarus, a bishop; Pope John the Tenth, of Pope

fieret oblatio pro quotidianis delictis mortalibus et venialibus." Burnet, Records, I. 481.

[d] 1 Tim. iv. 1, 2, 3. "Forbidding to marry," is one mark of a predicted apostate power, which appears to be the Papacy; but the Reformers, and indeed Protestants, long after the Reformation, in considering the Pope to be anti-christ, were probably mistaken. Two enemies of the Gospel seem to be foretold in Scripture, anti-christ, and the man of sin, whose characteristic marks were long blended together. The Papacy bears striking marks, tending to identify it with the latter power: the former seems more like an infidel despotism, such as was displayed among the French at the breaking out of their revolution.

[e] "And every woman her own husband." 1 Cor. vii. 2.

[f] 1 Tim. iii. 2, 4, 11, 12. Titus i. 5, 6.

Sergius; Pope Gelasius, of Valerius, a bishop; Pope John the Fifteenth, of Leo, a presbyter; and, not to multiply examples unnecessarily, it appears, from the history of Polycrates, that seven of his forefathers were successively bishops, he himself being the eighth in that episcopal series. To these statements were added some brief particulars of the violent opposition made by the German clergy, when Hildebrand undertook to force them into celibacy. It having been thus shewn that clerical marriages were alike consonant to Scripture, and to the usages of the Church during the first thousand years of her continuance, the infamous and intolerable evils[s] which had notoriously resulted from the papal prohibitions upon this subject were shortly mentioned, and the whole argument was concluded by a remark, that matrimony ought to be freely left to every man's choice, as a remedy against the mischiefs likely to flow from celibacy.

Bishop Tunstall prefaced his reply to these arguments, by professing his surprise at hearing some of them proposed, especially the first, against half communion, which came with an ill grace, he observed, from Lutherans believing, of course, in consubstantiation. If, he said, the delegates considered our Lord's body to be combined with the sacramental elements, it must be wholly found in

[s] It is asserted, and such assertions, if false, might have been easily refuted, that, among other evils of forced celibacy, child-murder, and the taking of drugs to cause abortion, had been often practised in nunneries. Burnet, Records, I. 490.

the bread, unless that were to be thought merely an imperfect piece of flesh, as flesh must be devoid of blood. If, however, the Saviour's body be present in the bread, those who received that element must be considered as receiving the whole substance of the Sacrament; which had been administered in one kind by our Lord himself to the disciples at Emmaus[h], at which place the act of Jesus has been interpreted as sacramental, and yet no mention is made of wine. From this text it was inferred, that Christ has left the Church at liberty to administer the Eucharist in one kind if it be found convenient. A similar omission, it was added, is found in the account of what followed the conversion of the three thousand recorded in the Acts of the Apostles[i]. From these two passages, it was argued that half communion is directly warranted by Scripture. An indirect warrant for the practice was deduced from St. Paul's account of the Last Supper, in which we are told our Lord, though he distributed the bread without any limitation, yet when he came to the cup, he said, "Do this as *oft* as ye drink it[k];" evidently implying that it is not necessary to drink it always. A like inference was drawn from St. Paul's saying, "Whosoever shall eat this bread *or* drink this cup[l]." It was then

[h] St. Luke xxiv. 30. [i] Acts ii. 42. [k] 1 Cor. xi. 25.

[l] 2 Cor. xi. 27. ἢ πίνῃ. Our translation renders these words, "*and* drink," an interpretation warranted by the Syriac, Arabic, and Æthiopic versions, and various passages of the New Testament. (Vid. Whitby in loc.) This authority of Tunstall's is

maintained that Christ has left us at liberty to receive him in four different ways; either in both kinds, or under the form of bread only, or of wine only, or mentally, when prevented by circumstances from communicating sensibly. It was admitted, that whole communion was the primitive usage, and that the precise date of the Romish practice was uncertain; a practice however to be esteemed, it was added, because founded on good authority, flowing from a reverential fear of spilling Christ's precious blood, and consecrated by long continuance. As for the Greek Church, her constitutions were said not to be easily ascertainable, depressed as she was under Ottoman infidels; but that, certainly, her approbation of half communion must be inferred from the fact, that on Good Friday she thus administers the Eucharist.

Private masses, it was said, although certainly they had led to great abuses, could not on that account be fairly condemned, unless it were determined that no practice ought to remain which had ever been brought into discredit by the perverse ingenuity of man. Such masses were asserted to be a sort of private communion, in which, however, the people, though not receiving the elements, were spiritually partakers, by the union of their prayers with those of the priest. These services, it was added, were virtually in use among the Greeks, inasmuch as their Church ce-

therefore doubtful at best. Indeed, his proofs from Scripture are of little value; they are arbitrary inferences opposed to plain commands.

lebrating a mass every Sunday, and few or none of the congregation usually choosing to communicate, the celebration does, in fact, become the same as that in use among the Latins. Indeed, if the Eucharist were never consecrated unless a congregation were ready to receive it, that holy ceremony must be used with comparative infrequency, to the obvious neglect of our Saviour's command, "Do this in remembrance of me[m];" from which it must be inferred, that the oftener this is done the better. The propitiatory character of the mass was deduced from the habit, common to both the Greek and Latin fathers, of calling it "an unbloody sacrifice;" from the conversion of the elements into the body and blood of Christ, who "offered one sacrifice for sins[n]," hence, wherever is the body of Jesus, there must be a sacrifice; from St. Paul's exhortation to men, "to present their bodies a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God[o];" and from a prediction of Malachi's asserting, that, at a future period, should be offered to God among the Gentiles "a pure offering[p];" a prophecy, it was added, which, un-

[m] St. Luke xxii. 19. This text will, indeed, bear fairly enough to be considered as a proof that the oftener men communicate the better; but what has that to do with a private mass, in which the priest alone receives, and the people merely look on?

[n] Heb. x. 12. Rather an ingenious mode of proving that Romish priests are *incessantly* offering such sacrifices.

[o] Rom. xii. 1. Here the people are to be the sacrifice, not the Eucharist.

[p] Malach. i. 11. Why may not "a pure offering" mean a truly

less referring to the sacrifice of the mass, has failed of completion.

After some general declamation, the Bishop asserted, upon the subject of clerical celibacy, that when St. Paul recommended every man to have his own wife, he meant every man who had not professed continence; that married men were admitted to the priesthood and episcopate in the primitive Church, because bachelors, able and willing to evangelize the world, were not to be found in sufficient numbers; but that, however, if a man, single when ordained, should have married afterwards, he was to be degraded from the priesthood, according to a canon of the Neocæsarean council. The impropriety of marriage in the clergy was inferred from the obligation resting upon those who minister in holy things to be perfectly pure; from St. Paul's commendations of celibacy; from his declaration, that the Christian soldier ought to be free from the entanglement of worldly affairs, anxious only to please God, whereas the married man is anxious to please his wife; and from the duty incumbent upon those who have dedicated themselves to God to do it completely, and not by halves. As for the charge, that clerical celibacy was merely a papal artifice, Tunstall alleged, that he and his friends had laboured with great industry to expel from the kingdom the tyranny of the Roman Bishop; and that, if they should find any time-serving dissem-

penitent heart, illumined by the divine grace, and devoted to the service and the love of God?

blers professing a hatred of the Pope, and a love of the truth which they did not feel, such men should be wholly excluded from the confidence of those who, like himself, were anxious to purge away the vices of the English Church[q].

The November of this year was signalized by the persecution of John Lambert, a Norfolk man, who, going to Cambridge for education, was there converted from Popery by Bilney. The change thus wrought in his religious sentiments rendered his residence in England unsafe, and he withdrew to the continent, where he formed an acquaintance with those pious scholars Tyndale and Frith. He lived for some time at Antwerp, as chaplain to the English factory there; a situation from which he was ejected by means of Sir Thomas More. He was afterwards sent prisoner to England, and questioned for heresy before Archbishop Warham. As he vindicated his principles instead of renouncing them, he was detained in custody, but not otherwise noticed, so long as Warham lived. When Cranmer succeeded to the primacy, Lambert was discharged: since, however, his opinions were not patronised by the leading men of any party, he did not attempt to gain employment in the Church; but, concealing himself under the name of Nicolson, he earned an honourable subsistence by following, in London, the difficult, laborious, and generally ill-requited occupation of a schoolmaster. At length he appears to have

[q] Addenda to Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 495.

determined upon escaping from the thankless drudgery of this vocation; for he was upon the point of taking up his freedom in the Grocers' Company, with a view, probably, to engaging in the petty trader's mercenary details, when an unexpected incident revived his ardour for the dissemination of religious truth. At St. Peter's church, in Cornhill, he heard a sermon upon transubstantiation, preached by Dr. Taylor, who was afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, and a friend to scriptural Christianity. Lambert had adopted Zuingle's opinion of the Eucharist, and he found himself unable to remain silent under the preacher's attack upon his principles. Accordingly, he went to Taylor, and civilly offered to argue with him upon the positions advanced in his sermon. This offer was declined, upon the plea of want of leisure; but Lambert was invited to commit his thoughts upon the subject at issue to paper[r]. He did so. Taylor then shewed the paper to Dr. Barnes, who had been employed in embassies to the German Lutherans, and who had brought

[r] His arguments at length are not extant; but Foxe has preserved a few particulars of them which had been handed down by memory. The Romanists are in the habit of resting their belief in transubstantiation upon our Lord's words, "This is my body," literally taken. Lambert produced other words spoken by our Lord at the institution of his holy Supper, viz. "This cup is the New Testament." (St. Luke xxii. 20.) "And if, saith he, these words do not change neither the cup, neither the wine, corporally into the New Testament: by like reason, it is not agreeable that the words spoken of the bread, should turn the bread corporally into the body of Christ." Foxe, 1024.

home a violent prejudice against the Sacramentaries, as they were called. This excellent man was, like many others, apprehensive that Zuinglian notions of the Eucharist would prove a serious impediment to the progress of Protestant principles; and he advised Taylor to institute proceedings against Lambert for heresy, before the Archbishop of Canterbury. Cranmer was thus, from the obligation of his office, compelled to interfere in the controversy. He cited the unfortunate Sacramentary before him, and put him upon his defence in open court. There, Lambert remaining unmoved by the arguments adduced, it is probable, intimidation was employed in the hope of subduing his resolution, as he boldly appealed from the Archbishop to the King.

Few sovereigns would have chosen to take a part publicly in a theological dispute with a subject; but Gardiner had insinuated to the King that Lambert's appeal offered him a good opportunity to clear himself before the world from the charge of favouring heretics; and Henry determined to hear in person the cause referred to his decision*. Westminster Hall was prepared for the unusual spectacle; and a summons, transmitted to different parts of England, brought many persons of distinction from their family mansions to hear a disputation in which a prince was to sit in judgment upon the arguments of an

* Foxe (1024) assigns to Gardiner the suggestion upon which the King acted at this time. Godwin (Annal. 67.) agrees as to the motive, but says nothing as to Henry's adviser.

obscure divine. On the day appointed, Henry took his seat in the hall, attended by his courtiers and the principal officers of state. On his right hand were ranged the bishops, on his left the temporal peers; and great numbers of less distinguished individuals occupied scaffolds prepared for their accommodation. Before this formidable array of grandeur and curiosity, the unfortunate prisoner, surrounded by armed men, at length made his appearance. His eye hastily wandered around the assemblage which crowded the spacious hall, and he involuntarily shrank from the fearful odds to which he had unwittingly exposed himself. Bishop Sampson, of Chichester, opened the business of the day in a speech which, after mentioning the prisoner's appeal, adverted to the absurdity of supposing that, although his Highness had emancipated his kingdom from papal usurpations, he could be induced to shield a heretic. After this unpromising exordium, the King, turning to Lambert, said, "Ho, good fellow, what is thy name?" The prisoner, kneeling, replied, "My name is John Nicolson, although of many I be called Lambert." "What," rejoined Henry, "have you two names? I would not trust you, having two names, although you were my brother." "Oh most noble prince," rejoined the prisoner, "your bishops forced me of necessity to change my name." Soon after this was said, he entered upon his defence, beginning by a compliment to the King upon his learning, and upon his benignity in condescending to preside upon the

present occasion. This ill-timed panegyric Henry sternly interrupted, by saying, in Latin, "I came not hither to hear mine own praises. Briefly go to the matter." The royal president's manner could not be mistaken, and the unhappy scholar felt himself oppressed by a sudden suspicion, that neither candour nor condescension had any concern in causing the extraordinary spectacle presented to his view. Surprised and intimidated at what he now discovered to be his situation, he stood silent, until the King abruptly said, "Why standest thou still? Answer plainly: Is the body of Christ in the Sacrament of the altar, or not?" "I reply," said the divine, "in St. Austin's words, Our Lord's body is present in the Eucharist after a certain manner." "Answer me not," said the King, "either out of St. Austin, or out of any other author; but tell me plainly, Is the body of Christ there or not?" Lambert then said, "I deny the Eucharist to be the body of Christ." These words being uttered, Henry, after thus addressing the prisoner, "Mark well, thou shalt be condemned even by Christ's own words, *Hoc est corpus meum;*" devolved upon Cranmer the humiliating task of continuing the controversy.

The Archbishop, after shortly addressing the spectators, thus accosted the prisoner: "Brother Lambert, let this matter be handled indifferently between us; so that if I, from Scripture, should prove your argument to be unsound, you will abandon it; if, on the contrary, you should, from Scripture, shew me to be in the wrong, I do pro-

mise to embrace your opinion." He then proceeded to argue against the prisoner's position, that as Christ is corporeally in heaven, and a body cannot be in more than one place at the same time, therefore he cannot be corporeally present at every celebration of mass; by citing the account of St. Paul's conversion[t], at which time, according to the Apostle's own account, the Saviour appeared to him[u]. To these things Lambert answered, that St. Paul is not said in these texts to have seen Christ upon earth, only to have been dazzled by a great light, and to have heard the Saviour's voice. This observation was followed by an argument, upon the conversion of St. Paul, between Lambert and the Primate, which, though leading to no result, bearing upon the point at issue, placed the learning and talents of the prisoner in such a high point of view[x], that Gardiner, losing all patience, pressed forward out of his prescribed turn[y] to take a share in the debate. He cited two texts from St. Paul's Epistles[z], in which, the Apostle asserts, that he had seen Jesus. To these Lambert replied, that they were fully sufficient to convince him of our Lord's appearance to

[t] Acts ix. 4.

[u] Acts xxvi. 14.

[x] "The King seemed greatly to be moved therewith, and the bishop himself that disputed to be entangled, and all the audience amazed." Foxe, 1025.

[y] "He was appointed the sixth place of the disputation." Ibid.

[z] 1 Cor. ix. 1.; 1 Cor. xv. 8.

the Apostle; that, however, they did not prove our Lord's body to have been in two places at the same time; and indeed that it was highly probable, that when St. Paul saw the Lord, he himself was either bodily, or in spirit, carried up into heaven [a]. Tunstall next came forward, and argued, that it was mere presumption in man to aim at fathoming the omnipotence of God; hence, that no objection to the corporal presence could be drawn from the incompetence of the human mind to understand the manner in which it is effected; and that our Saviour's words, at the institution of the Eucharist, are sufficient to establish transubstantiation, however difficult it may be to explain that doctrine upon any known principles. To these arguments Lambert replied, that Scripture has preserved no declaration of our Saviour promising that he would change the bread into his body; and that evidently his language at the Last Supper was of the figurative kind, common in the sacred writings, by which circumcision is called the covenant, a lamb, the passover, and many other words have meanings assigned to them at variance with their literal import. Stokesley then rose, and endeavoured to prove the change of the sacramental bread into our Lord's body to be agreeable to reason and experience, by adverting to the evaporation of water, a process, he said, by which a moist substance, though no longer visible, is not annihilated, but only transferred from

[a] 2 Cor. xii. 2.

a vessel in which it had been contained, to the surrounding atmosphere. This illustration, which appeared eminently felicitous to the auditory, was said by Lambert to be inconclusive; because the moistness of air, and that of water, are different things. The prisoner's exertions were even then far from a close: six other bishops pressed him in succession with arguments or fallacies, until the introduction of torches into the hall reminded the spectators that night was closing in upon them; and it became evident that Lambert had become exhausted and bewildered by the succession of new opponents. The King then demanded of him, if he were satisfied; and whether it was his resolution to live or to die? The browbeaten prisoner replied, that he threw himself wholly upon the royal mercy. On this Henry declared, that mercy for heretics he had none; and that if the unfortunate man's answer stopped at that appeal, he must prepare for the worst. Little as Lambert evidently had anticipated this termination of the arduous day when he entered the hall, he would not barter his integrity for life; and being found immovable, Cromwell was ordered by the King to read the sentence of death. The royal orders were instantly obeyed; and thus ended as egregious an instance of folly and oppression as any that history records [b].

After a short interval arrived the last earthly trial of this able and upright man's constancy.

[b] Foxe; from the relation of an eye-witness.

On the morning of that day which was to terminate his sufferings, he was informed, in a private interview with Cromwell, that he would be put to death in the course of a few hours. By this intelligence he was nowise depressed; but after withdrawing from the Vicar-general's apartment, he sat cheerfully down to breakfast with the attendants in the hall. His repast being concluded, he was taken to Smithfield, and committed to the flames. He suffered dreadfully; the fire had consumed his extremities, without doing more than scorching his trunk, when its fierceness began to abate. Two officers of justice, in pity to his agonies, then struck their halberts into his mutilated body, which, by a powerful exertion of strength, they lifted out of the chains that held it suspended above the fire. Consciousness had not yet forsaken the dying martyr's tortured frame. He exclaimed, "None but Christ; none but Christ;" when the halberdiers, withdrawing their weapons, the frightful object which they had for an instant supported in the air, was precipitated into the embers beneath [c]; and another victim of transubstantiation yielded up his pious spirit to Him who gave, informed, and strengthened it [d].

[c] Foxe.

[d] "Here it is much to be marvelled at, to see how unfortunately it came to pass in this matter, that through the pestiferous and crafty counsel of this one Bishop of Winchester, Satan, which oftentimes doth raise up one brother to the destruction of another, did here perform the condemnation of this Lambert by no other ministers than Gospellers themselves, Taylor, Barnes,

It is painful to reflect that Cranmer, himself eventually a victim to Popery's great pretence for

Cranmer, and Cromwell, who afterwards in a manner all suffered the like for the Gospel's sake." (Foxe, 1026.) From this somewhat inaccurate observation of the martyrologist, Dr. Lingard appears to have taken a hint for the composition of the following sentence: "Nor is it the least remarkable circumstance in his (Lambert's) story, that of the three men who brought him to the stake, two professed, even then, most certainly later, the very same doctrine as their victim, and all three suffered afterwards the same, or nearly the same, punishment." Dr. Milner also (Letters to a Prebendary, 137.) talks of Cranmer's conduct "in condemning to the fire the Protestants Lambert, &c." And Mr. Butler (Hist. Mem. of the Engl. Cath. I. 140.) mentions Cranmer as "instrumental" in Lambert's death. In justice, however, to the memory of those excellent men, who, though of Protestant principles, rendered aid in the persecution of Lambert, it should be remembered that Taylor and Barnes are only known as agents in this affair, so far as to have submitted to their metropolitan's cognizance certain doctrines which they deemed injurious to the Reformation; and that Cranmer, in the first instance, merely fulfilled the duties devolving upon him as an ecclesiastical judge. The disgraceful scene afterwards exhibited in Westminster Hall, flowed from Lambert's own imprudence, in appealing to the King. Upon this occasion Cranmer was again obliged to come forward; but he did it in a kind and candid manner. How far the Archbishop might have concurred in the propriety of Lambert's sentence, we have no means of knowing; but we know that he was anxious to save Frith, a former victim to transubstantiation; and we find him, in his letter to Von Watt, (Strype, Mem. Cranm. Appendix, 742.) designating the contentions upon this subject as "*hæc tam cruenta controversia;*" terms which shew that his mind recoiled from the horrors by which Romanists endeavoured to support the tottering credit of their leading doctrine. As for the Archbishop's own opinion upon the Eucharistic controversy at this time, it has been already shewn that he was yet a believer in transubstantiation.

shedding human blood, should have sanctioned, by his aid and presence, the cruel usage under which Lambert perished. But it must be recollected, that, during five centuries, the Roman Church had unceasingly inculcated a superstitious reverence for the sacramental elements; and during three, or more, an opinion, that he who would not conform to the national religion, deserved to be considered as a capital criminal. Prepossessions which had so long obtained firm possession of the public mind, were not easily shaken off; and much after they had risen superior to other prejudices of their education, transubstantiation was believed by some of the most distinguished English divines. This circumstance appears to have excited considerable regret among the Swiss Protestants; and Von Watt, or Vadianus, as he called himself in the spirit of pedantry, then fashionable, transmitted to Cranmer a book which he had lately written, to maintain the spiritual presence. This present the Archbishop acknowledged in a letter, communicating to the learned Swiss his wishes that "he had employed his study to better purpose, and that he had opened his correspondence with some better and more approved subject:" adding, that he would neither be the patron nor approver of that doctrine until he saw stronger proofs for it." Of such an alteration in his sentiments, however, he appears to have entertained at that time little or no expectation: as he applied to Zuinglius and Œcolampadius a censure passed by St. Jerome upon Ori-

gen: "Where they wrote well, no man wrote better; where ill, nobody worse." He also expressed his wishes, that these Reformers had contented themselves with confuting and exposing what he considered the errors and corruptions of Popery, without proceeding to injure the growth of their valuable grain, by sowing tares at the same time with it [a]. He was led to make these remarks from a notion, which was then firmly impressed upon his mind, that transubstantiation had ever been the Catholic doctrine; and from observing the animosities engendered among the Reformers by a difference of opinion upon this subject. Hence those who had become possessed by a conviction that evils of magnitude were inflicted by Romanism upon the Catholic Church, instead of uniting their forces for the purpose of humiliating the common enemy, were distracted by conflicting sentiments, and exasperated against each other by opprobrious names. By means of these last, both Lutherans and Papists successfully conspired to raise a violent prejudice against the Sacramentaries, as they were called, a class of Christians rendered more hateful by being unjustly confounded with the sensual and levelling Anabaptists. It was by dint of charges of impiety and insubordination, incessantly urged against the

[a] Strype (Mem. Cranm. 96.) mentions an argument upon transubstantiation, maintained before the Archbishop in 1539, by Damlip, and another in 1541, by an Oxford man named Barber, when he was pressed with citations from Scripture, and the fathers, by which he was much embarrassed.

followers of Zuinglius, that the Romish party had induced the King to imbrue his hands in Lambert's blood; and had caused even friends of the Reformation to view the barbarous murder of a pious scholar as an act reflecting honour upon the age and country[r].

About this time some other unfortunate religionists were involved in trouble upon a charge of heresy. These were natives of Holland, who had adopted Anabaptist opinions; and were thus, not without justice, become objects of suspicion to the government. To Cranmer and others a commission was issued from the crown, requiring them to try these unhappy strangers. The result was, that of the persons accused, three men and a woman were exhibited at St. Paul's Cross with faggots tied to their backs; one man and a woman were committed to the flames in Smithfield[s], that scene of so many atrocious executions. After these cruel severities, a proclamation was issued against Anabaptists and Sacramentaries, in which the former were commanded to leave the king-

[r] "The King's Majesty for the reverence of the holy sacrament of the altar, did sit openly in his hall, and there presided at the disputation, process, and judgment of a miserable heretic Sacramentary, who was burnt the 20th of November. It was a wonder to see how princely, with how excellent gravity, and inestimable majesty, his Highness exercised there the very office of supreme head of the Church of England. I wish the princes and potentates of Christendom to have had a meet place to have seen it." Extract from a letter of Cromwell's to Sir Thomas Wyat, ambassador in Germany. Collier, II. 152.

[s] Ibid.

dom, and the latter to abstain from disputing upon the Eucharist, under the penalty of forfeiting their lives[h]. The propriety of some precautions against Anabaptist principles, as they had been recently taught abroad, could indeed be doubted by no friend to sound morals and good order; but to include in the same sentence of condemnation, those who denied the corporal presence, was a glaring injustice. Unhappily, however, the sword of persecution was now unsheathed, the worst passions of bigoted men were aroused into a fearful activity, and the zealous partizans of inveterate abuses were preparing to revenge their repeated defeats in the field of argument, by cruelties and oppressions perpetrated under the sanction of unjust and sanguinary laws.

Before the end of this year the Romish party had the mortification to see their strength impaired, and their character rendered suspicious, by some discoveries which involved in ruin the devoted family of Cardinal Pole. That persevering enemy to the peace of his royal benefactor, and of his native country, had left Rome at the beginning of winter, for the purpose of prevailing upon the Emperor, then in Spain, to turn his arms against England. In order that his treasonable project might escape the notice of Henry's residents abroad, Pole consented to travel in disguise[i]. But his motions were watched; and he

[h] See Strype, Mem. Cranm. Appendix, 685.

[i] Phillips's Life of Pole.

had not long received his instructions from the distinguished personage who claimed the inheritance of St. Peter's imaginary prerogatives, before his unhappy confederates in England were seized to answer for their participation in his projects. The Cardinal himself waited upon Charles, but found a very cool reception; and therefore, after an ineffectual attempt to disturb his countrymen by the alarm of a foreign invasion, he quietly returned to breathe the balmy air of Italy, amid red-hatted courtiers, and scholars at their ease. His English correspondents were not so fortunate. Henry Courtney, Marquess of Exeter[k], Henry Pole, Lord Montague, the Cardinal's brother, and Sir Edward Neville, brother to Lord Abergavenny, were tried for high treason; and being found guilty upon sufficient evidence[l], received sentence of death. Soon afterwards Sir Geoffrey Pole, another of the Cardinal's brothers, Sir Edward Carew[m], two priests, and a mariner,

[k] "The King's cousin-german, as being son of Katharine, daughter of Edward IV." Herbert, 216.

[l] "The particular offences yet of these great persons are not so fully made known to me, that I can say much. Only I find among our records, that Thomas Wriothesley, secretary, then at Bruxels, writing of their apprehension to Sir Thomas Wyat, his Highness's ambassador in Spain, said, that the accusations were great, and duly proved. And in another place I read, that they sent the Cardinal money." Ibid.

[m] Sir Edward Carew was convicted after the death of the other conspirators, whose fate he pronounced unjust. However, before his execution, his gaoler, Phillips, who followed the Reformation, induced him to read the Bible, and the unhappy knight

were convicted of high treason. All these victims, of their own bigotry, and tools of a man who was himself out of reach, were executed, with the exception of Sir Geoffrey Pole, who purchased his own life at the dreadful price of revealing the treasonable secrets of his family.

became so sensible of the spiritual darkness in which he had passed his life, that "he blessed God for his imprisonment." (Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 555.) The poor sailor who lost his life upon this occasion, was, most probably, the organ of communication between the Cardinal and his English connexions.

CHAPTER IX.

State of the leading English Reformers—Boner advanced to the prelacy—Bishop Tunstall's sermon against the Papacy—Bishop Longland preaches upon the same subject—Preparations for the meeting of Parliament—Legislative provisions consequent upon the suppression of monasteries—Statute of precedence—Attainder of Pole and his connexions—Other acts passed at this time—A committee appointed to prepare a plan for securing uniformity of religious opinion—Unsuccessful—The Duke of Norfolk brings in the bill of Six Articles—Opposed by Cranmer—Debates in the Upper House—The act passed by means of the King's personal interference—Provisions of the act—Exultation of the Romanists—Entertainment to the House of Peers given at Lambeth by the King's command—Persecution under the act of Six Articles begun—Accident that befel a statement of Cranmer's objections to the act—The book of Ceremonies—The domestic use of the Scriptures permitted—Anne of Cleves demanded by the King in marriage—She arrives in England—Dissatisfaction of the King—The Emperor's visit to Paris—Henry is prevented from sending the Princess back from reasons of state—He reluctantly marries her—Coolness between Francis and the Emperor—Cromwell's unpopularity—A new Parliament assembles—The Knights of St. John of Jerusalem suppressed—Subsidies reluctantly granted—The King enamoured of Catharine Howard—Cromwell arrested, and attainted—Cranmer writes to the King in his favour—Negociations and parliamentary proceedings respecting Anne of Cleves—She agrees to refer her case to the Convocation—Is divorced—Acts passed in Parliament—Execution of Cromwell.

GRIEVED and mortified as the Romish party must necessarily have felt while they witnessed the premature disclosure of Pole's intrigues, and the pu-

nishment of his deluded adherents, they judged that these untoward circumstances need not discourage them from steadily pursuing that artful policy which they had adopted as most likely to ensure the ultimate triumph of their opinions. The Cardinal's conduct had indeed been so palpably indecent, and so plainly tending to subvert his country's independence, that no man of candour, at a time when the facts were recent and notorious, could venture upon its defence. Nor could any man deny, that the miseries which that misguided ecclesiastic had brought upon his family and connexions, were no other than those which must be inflicted in such cases by every government duly careful of its own permanence, and of the public tranquillity. Accordingly, the catastrophe which had overtaken the Poles, was openly regretted by no party; all public men joined in reprobating the Cardinal especially; and thus the Romanists were enabled to gain upon their sovereign's affections, by seeming to acquiesce cordially in the measures of his administration. While the nation presented this picture of political unanimity, it was determined to assemble a new Parliament; a body indeed whose services were urgently required, in order to legalise the arrangements consequent upon the dissolution of monasteries. It was justly doubted, whether the recent surrenders of monastic property were legal, as being the acts of men who possessed no interest in the estates devised, beyond the period of their incumbency. To prevent, therefore, the

future agitation of this important question, it was desirable to obtain the legislative sanction for what had been done, and what was in progress. Nor did either of the great parties into which England was then divided, deny the propriety of an appeal for this purpose to the great national council. The Protestants indeed were anxious to see the conventual property irrevocably alienated from its ancient possessors: the Romanists were willing to acquiesce in this necessity, which they perceived to be inevitable, in the hope that their ready compliance would help them to carry such measures as would hereafter paralyse the efforts of the Reformers.

Except, however, for the purpose of finally delivering England from the evils of monachism, the Protestants had little cause to desire the meeting of a new Parliament. Their adversaries had obtained an ascendancy in the royal councils, against which their own means of contending successfully were very ineffective. The King's prejudices inclined him to look favourably upon some of the doctrines, and upon many of the usages adopted by the Roman Church. To this religious community the Duke of Norfolk continued firmly attached, and he possessed from birth, opulence, and talents, great influence both over Henry, and over most families of distinction. The prime minister, Cromwell, was indeed a friend to the Reformation, but his personal consequence was merely that of an useful man of business. By the aristocracy he was detested, because he had risen

from the dregs of society to share the wealth and honours which persons of birth are often disposed to consider as their exclusive right: nor, in the spirit of that inconsistent illiberality generally observable among men, was the Vicar-general's upstart greatness in the least approved by the bulk of those who had been once his equals. But however little popular this able minister might have been among the laity, he was far less so among the clergy; by the great majority of whom he was cordially hated for his opinions, and for his exercising officially a control over the Church, to which, it was thought, none but ecclesiastics could substantiate any just pretension. Cranmer, though highly valued by the King, possessed no great weight as the head of a party. His studious habits, inflexible integrity, and eminent candour, gave him indeed a great influence over most men of virtue and discernment, who came in contact with him; but these recommendations, exalted as they are, will not, unless combined with a large alloy of worldly prudence, enable their possessor to make a proficiency in courtly habits, to conduct, or to defeat, intrigues. At this time too the Primate had lost a portion of that favour which he ordinarily enjoyed with his sovereign. He maintained, that Henry was justified in appropriating to his own purposes only the lands of such abbeys as were of royal foundation; and that all estates settled upon convents by the mistaken liberality of private individuals, ought to become

the endowments of foundations instituted to educate, or otherwise to benefit the people.

Of the Primate's coadjutors upon the episcopal bench, the only one generally remembered by posterity, is Hugh Latimer, the pious, single-hearted Bishop of Worcester; a divine whose uprightness no candid observer ever doubted, whose zeal was the manifest fruit of an honest conviction, whose reproofs no station could escape, no self-deception misunderstand. The manly eloquence, the sterling worth, the noble self-devotion of this exemplary prelate, were admirably fitted to promote the Protestant cause among the truly wise and good, because the real motives of such a man are liable to no suspicion. But men so guileless are prone to consider others as honest as themselves, and hence they are eminently ill fitted to unravel the mazes, and contravene the objects, of a tortuous policy. Nor is the unrestrained, and it may be sometimes unbecoming freedom of their language likely to be relished, or even always patiently endured, by those who have been habituated to none but flatterers. Nor is a character perfectly disinterested either understood or considered genuine by the inveterately selfish. Hence such men as Latimer are not adapted for very public stations, for the most elevated society, nor for difficult emergencies. They are certain, when forced out of their proper sphere, to gain the hatred of the profligate, the contempt of the crafty, and the distrust of those who are aware

that mere goodness of heart is a very inefficient protection against the arts of worldly cunning. The Bishop of Worcester's conduct, accordingly, had been such as to promote the Reformation by the influence of his personal character, but to impede it by his injudicious management. He had taken little care to maintain that cautious spirit among his clergy, which was required by the unsettled state of doctrine and discipline; but had connived at the honest or affected zeal of those who wished to outstrip the government in the progress of reform. Such unauthorised concessions did not escape the notice of envious detractors and bigoted partizans. They were represented as indications of a dangerous licentiousness, which the executive was bound to check; and although the unblemished reputation of Latimer forbade any man openly to question the purity of his motives, yet he was represented as wholly unfit for the station which he occupied, being rather characterised by the simplicity of a child or a rustic, than possessed of the discrimination indispensable in a man charged with the performance of public and important duties.

Shaxton, Bishop of Salisbury, was a prelate scarcely yielding to Latimer in zeal for the Reformation; but, like that excellent pastor, he was deficient in courtly discretion. He appears to have been a man of irritable temper, strong passions, and wavering judgment. Unhappily he had engaged in an altercation with the Vicar-general, and thus was another breach made in the

confidence and unanimity of the Protestant party. A monk, who read the divinity lecture in Reading Abbey, was found to have taught, that Scripture is not alone a sufficient rule of life; that pulpit eloquence, and a good example, will not render a man a good parish priest, unless he be a casuist also; that faith without works justifies no man; and that men have the power of meriting grace, as well as a higher place in heaven [a]. To prevent the dissemination of these doctrines, Shaxton, as the diocesan, interfered; but the monk found a patron in the abbot of his house, who appealed to Cromwell as the supreme ordinary; and insinuated, that the Bishop's antipathy to the lecturer arose merely from a desire to supply his place with a dependent of his own [b]. An angry correspondence ensued between Cromwell and Shaxton, to the great prejudice of that important cause, which both of them had at heart, and which was menaced by the hostility of a party perfectly united, and perseveringly following a system of the most refined policy.

Of the other prelates inclined to the Reformation, neither the zeal, the talents, nor the steadiness, appears to have been of a high order. The most able and active Protestant who had been lately raised to the episcopate, was Fox, Bishop of Hereford, a prelate qualified by his intercourse

[a] See Shaxton's letter to Cromwell. Strype, Eccl. Mem. Appendix, I. 222.

[b] Cromwell's letter to Shaxton. Burnet, Hist. Ref. Records, I. 238.

with the German reformers to appreciate their views with correctness. However, the hopes which were justly conceived by the friends of scriptural Christianity, from the extensive learning and enlightened views of Bishop Fox, were, unhappily, blighted by his death in the May of the last year [c]. Cranmer immediately availed himself of his powers, as metropolitan, to confirm the people of the deceased prelate's diocese in those habits of deference for Holy Scripture, of acquiring devotional pieces in their mother tongue, and of reliance upon a lively faith alone for acceptance with God, which form the proud distinctions of the Protestant creed [d]. In the choice of a new bishop of Hereford, Cromwell proved grievously mistaken. Edmund Boner was a Worcestershire man, of obscure parentage [e], who received his academical education at Oxford, and attained to manhood about the time when the King's divorce gave to English politics an inclination towards Protestantism. The young divine was not blind to the signs of the times: he became a bustling adversary to Popery, and Cromwell thought that he could not do better than draw the zealous

[c] Godwin, de Præsul. 498.

[d] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 100.

[e] He is said to have been the natural son of a priest named Savage: but this appears to be merely a malicious tale. The father of this prelate, whom Bishop Godwin not undeservedly styles, "*martyromastix ille truculentus*," was a poor man of good reputation at Hanley in Worcestershire. See Wood's Athenæ by Bliss.

Oxonian from his college retirement into active life. The first appointment of any note to which he attained was the archdeaconry of Leicester, and with this he held three or four parochial benefices. These preferments he seems to have viewed merely as stepping-stones to a station of greater dignity, and his devotion to the party then in power continued unabated. His freedom when employed to negociate with the late Pope at Marseilles, his preface to Gardiner's tract against the Papacy, and all his other acts, confirmed the King's Protestant advisers in their opinion of his zeal for the Reformation. Cranmer appointed him Master of his Faculties[f]; when Gardiner had been for a considerable time employed as ambassador at the French and Imperial courts, Boner was nominated to supersede him. While thus left to manage English interests at the court of France, he exerted himself to procure the royal licence for impressions of the English Bible, and New Testament, by the Paris printers; nor did any thing occur to make his patrons doubt that they had secured in the archdeacon an indefatigable friend to the revival of scriptural Christianity. Accordingly, when Fox, the late enlightened Bishop of Hereford died, Boner was nominated to his see[g]: of which, however, he did not come over to take possession; but he still

[f] Godwin, de Præsul. 191.

[g] By Cromwell's means. (Foxe, 997.) He was confirmed Bishop of Hereford, Dec. 17, 1538. Godwin, de Præsul. 191. Note.

continued in France. Before his return Stokesley, Bishop of London, deceased, and the Bishop of Hereford elect was again recommended to the royal notice as a prelate adapted to preside over the spiritual concerns of the metropolis [h]. When, however, the new bishop took possession of his cure, the principles which placed him there had lost their ascendancy. Boner immediately veered about, and continued, during the remainder of his life, the fast friend of that party which he had formerly opposed with no little heat and assiduity. From his whole history, it must be concluded that he was a worldly-minded, unprincipled man, not likely to feel very deeply interested in the progress of any religious opinions; but if obliged to take a decided part in such questions, most inclined to side with that sect which had formed his early prejudices, and which appears to possess eminent facilities for lulling the consciences of men, without enlightening their minds or amending their hearts. When Boner's ambitious hopes were realized, that party was beginning to emerge from its temporary depression, and he promoted its objects in a manner so decided as to leave himself, conspicuous in station as he was, no pretence for retracting afterwards. Ultimately, perhaps, he served the cause which had raised him to his unmerited eminence. His unlimited subserviency to the cruel policy of a bigoted court, painted the brutal ferocity of his character in the

[h] He was confirmed Bishop of London, Nov. 11, 1539; consecrated April 4, 1540. Godwin, de Præsul. 191. Note.

most glaring colours. According to what is usual among men, and not altogether unjust, the party which availed itself of Boner's services was eventually loaded with the odium deservedly attaching to his memory; and this unfeeling prelate is even still remembered in England, in order to warn Protestants as to what they may expect from the Romish hierarchy, when possessed of unfettered authority.

On Palm Sunday the King's attachment to the supremacy was fortified by a sermon upon that subject, preached by Bishop Tunstall. In this discourse, which is still extant [i], the prelate cited Scripture to prove that obedience is due from Christians to temporal princes alone, and that our Lord's kingdom is not of this world. He argued, that when Christ promised to build his Church upon "this rock," addressing St. Peter [k], he meant upon that Apostle's confession of his Master's Messiahship, which is the corner stone of the Christian faith [l]; that, in point of fact, St. Peter never held any superiority over his brethren, since he was the Apostle of the circumcision, as St. Paul was of the Gentiles [m]; that the latter did not hesitate to rebuke the supposed primate of the apostolic band [n]; and that all the Apostles are mentioned together in the New Testament without any distinction whatever [o]. The alleged superiority of St. Peter being thus shewn to have

[i] It has been lately reprinted.
[k] St. Matth. xvi. 18.
[l] Rom. x. 9. 1 Cor. iii. 11.
[m] Gal. ii. 7.
[n] Gal. ii. 11.
[o] Ephes. ii. 20. Rev. xxi. 14.

no foundation in Scripture, it was proved from history that the papal universal supremacy was unknown in the first ages of the Church; and the preacher adverted to the insolence which its assumption had fostered in modern popes. Then, after he had placed in no favourable point of view the indecency committed by the pontiffs in offering their feet to be kissed by those who wait upon them, however dignified in rank, or venerable from age; he proceeded to the more serious disgrace which the Papacy has contracted in endeavouring to harass its opponents by involving them in hostilities. From this papal iniquity the transition to Cardinal Pole's treasonable missions was easy and natural[p]; nor does the Bishop forget to inveigh severely against the practices of that ill-advised ecclesiastic, the detection of whose recent intrigues, by means of his own brother, he represents as an especial providence.

On Good Friday in the last year, Bishop Longland preached before the King at Greenwich a sermon, in which he proved from Scripture that the only High Priest of the Christian Church is Jesus himself, and that even He never took so much upon him as those pretended pontiffs en-

[p] "To set forth his pestilent malice the more, he hath allured to his purpose a subject of this realm, Reginald Pole, comen of a noble blood, and thereby the more errant traitor, to go about from prince to prince, and from country to country, to stir them to war against this realm, and to destroy the same, being his native country, &c." (Tunstall's Serm.) Extracts from this are to be seen in Foxe, and in Strype. Eccl. Mem.

throned at Rome. Our divine High Priest, said the Bishop, is indeed by the Apostle styled "great[q];" but never greatest, never highest, most holy, most blessed, universal, and the like. He never was borne aloft upon men's shoulders, never offered his feet to be kissed by the people; he attained his office not by simony and intrigues, he fulfilled it with perfect innocence, profound humility, unlimited compassion, and unwearied piety; and he completed his glorious earthly course by entering into heaven, the holiest of holies, with the sacrifice of himself. All these distinctions of the Great Being whom we are taught by the unerring word of God to regard as the head of our religion, are placed in strong contrast with the pretensions and practices of the Roman bishops, who are charged with unblushing blasphemy, venality, and presumption[r].

It was by thus perseveringly surrendering the Pope as the scape goat of their party, that the Romanists were enabled to regain the King's confidence, and to calculate upon his assistance for the furtherance of their plans in the approaching Parliament. As in this was to be debated the propriety of confirming the cession of monastic property to the crown, in order to reconcile the public mind to this transfer, reports of hostile intentions entertained by foreign powers were industriously spread through the country. Military men inspected the defences along the coasts

[q] Heb. iv. 13. [r] Foxe, 1002.

most exposed to continental invasion, and pronounced that the vulnerable points could not be rendered secure without an enormous expense. Orders were issued to keep the navy in readiness for sea, and to take an account of the men fit for arms in different parts of the kingdom. Henry himself, unwieldy as he had become, and unprovided as was that age with conveniences for travelling, undertook a journey to the coast for the purpose of examining the fortifications there. His visit was followed by the erection of new works, and by the general prevalence of apprehension. Men began to speculate upon the notorious incompetence of the royal exchequer to defray these unforeseen expenses without extraordinary aids, and upon the plans most likely to diminish the expected dangers. Reflection upon these subjects caused them to view the total suppression of monasteries as desirable, both for the purpose of placing large funds at the King's disposal, and for that of breaking down several opulent and discontented societies into a number of depressed and insulated malcontents. There were, however, individuals who treated the rumours afloat, and the preparations for resistance, as mere devices of the government, planned for the sole purpose of extorting from the people an acquiescence in the pillage of numerous venerable societies. By ejected monks and friars especially, this opinion was unceasingly inculcated. But their exertions, though far from unsuccessful, neither availed to allay the general apprehension

of foreign enemies, nor of domestic tax-gatherers; and most men came to a conclusion, that the continuance of monkery ought not be placed in competition with their own security, or with their accumulation of worldly substance[s].

On the 28th of April the new Parliament assembled. For the last time the mitred abbots were summoned; but important to their order as were the motions submitted to the House, it does not appear that they offered any opposition to them. Indeed, in all the attacks which had been recently made upon the monastic system, it is remarkable that those connected with it appear to have been, in their parliamentary capacity, nearly, if not wholly, passive. When the bill was brought into the House to legalise the surrenders of monastic property already made, eighteen abbots were present; at the second reading twenty; at the third, seventeen; and yet by none of these lordly monks was any protest made; an evident proof, either of their incapacity to take an active part in debate, or of their confidence in the King's liberal intentions towards them. The bill readily passed both Houses, and thus English monasteries were formally suppressed[t]. For, although the legislature did not proceed, as in the case of the smaller convents, to a forcible dissolution; yet so many of the larger abbeys were already surrendered, voluntarily as it was represented, and the officers of the crown knew so well how to obtain

[s] Herbert, 217. [t] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 403.

possession of all the rest, that the vote of this Parliament did, in effect, eradicate English monachism. But notwithstanding that the legislature broke up conventual societies, with inconsistent cruelty it refused to strip the religious individually of the character which they had assumed. They were indeed allowed to purchase, sue, and be sued, but not to claim any estate descending to them by inheritance, nor to marry, if they had taken the vow of chastity after attaining the age of twenty-one[y]. So that, in fact, they were deprived of the principal privileges attached both to their old and to their new way of living. The inconvenience resulting from another act of this Parliament is even yet observable. The government of churches, vested by papal grants in monasteries, was restored to the diocesans from whose charge such churches had been originally withdrawn, unless the crown chose to retain this privilege[z]. In many cases the crown did retain it, and, moreover, conveyed it with their estates to those who ultimately became possessed of property once belonging to a convent that had exercised it.

Another act passed at this time regulates the precedence of distinguished persons. By this it was provided, to the no small surprise and displeasure of many people, that to Cromwell, as the Vicar-general, a rank should be assigned above that of all who were not members of the royal fa-

[y] Herbert, 318. [z] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 403.

mily. Nothing piques the vanity of little minds more than trifles of this kind; and it was soon invidiously remarked, that henceforth a man of slender learning was to take precedence of all the clergy, and a blacksmith's son of all the nobility. It is, however, absurdly overlooked in such reflections upon men who enjoy official rank, that not the individual thus distinguished, but the office that he fills, is the object which those had in view who placed him so high in the scale of honour. The King is the source of his authority, and a distinguished public functionary claims an elevated place in society, because the jurisdiction entrusted to him is the privilege of royalty, and the individual exercising it is therefore the representative of the highest personage in the state. If this obvious truth be borne in mind, neither the Vicar-general's rank, nor that of the prelates at the head of our church establishment, will appear unreasonable or unbecoming. Of the twofold jurisdiction inherent in the crown, the ecclesiastical is justly esteemed the nobler branch, because its importance extends beyond the present world: it is reasonable, therefore, that the spiritual judge, to whose exercise this prerogative is delegated, should rank above the judge of concerns merely temporal. Properly, then, is the Primate of all England placed above the Chancellor, and these two above all other members of the body politic not of royal birth. Nor as the supreme direction of ecclesiastical affairs was entrusted, at the time when the statute of precedence was passed, to a

Vicar-general, could that officer's rank be settled otherwise than it was, without violating the principle which admits the delegation of spiritual jurisdiction to be more honourable than that of temporal[y]. This act will therefore serve to explain the true reason of the precedence assigned to the English prelacy. From the rank conferred upon a layman who chanced to be placed over the Church, it becomes evident that the elevated position of our ecclesiastical judges was not the mere result of superstitious veneration entertained by an ignorant age for them as ministers of religion, but the necessary consequence of a rational respect for the character of those functionaries to whom is delegated the most glorious of royal prerogatives, that of directing the national piety and morals.

It is not very creditable, perhaps, to the memory of this Parliament, that it consented to condemn accused persons without a public hearing. This questionable severity was practised upon the family, connexions, and instruments of Cardinal Pole. The sentence upon the unhappy conspirators, whom the Cardinal had already brought to

[y] At the first Convocation holden after Cromwell's appointment, Dr. Petre, in the absence of the Vicar-general, claimed the first place as his substitute, upon the following grounds: "That, since this synod was called by the authority of the Prince who was supreme head of the Church of England, and that the same Prince ought to hold the supreme rule in the said Convocation; and that the King being absent, the Honourable Mr. Thomas Cromwell, Vicar-general for ecclesiastical causes, *ejus vices gerens*, ought to occupy his place." Strype, Eccl. Mem. I. 378.

an ignominious death, was first confirmed by the Legislature, which was sufficiently reasonable; then others were marked out for punishment, whose guilt appears to have been either so slight, or so imperfectly substantiated, that it was not deemed advisable to leave their fate to the issue of a trial. Since, however, it was determined to treat as capital offences the indiscreet and suspicious acts which they were found to have committed, Cromwell sent for the judges, and demanded their opinion as to the competence of Parliament to condemn individuals charged with crimes, from which they have had no public opportunity of clearing themselves. Such was the dependent situation in which the heads of the law were retained at that time, that they did not venture to repel indignantly the iniquitous question; they contented themselves with replying, that it was a subject dangerous to agitate; because the Legislature, being the supreme court of justice, was bound to proceed according to the strictest rules of right, which must evidently be violated by such a practice as that proposed to their consideration. Since this answer was not satisfactory to the enquirer, the sages of the judicial bench were pressed with new devices of casuistry, and at length they said, that as there existed no higher court to which an appeal could be made from the decisions of Parliament, whatsoever that body should decree must be considered as good in law. Armed with this legal authority, which merely asserted, that injustice might be safely

committed in any case where it was not liable to be subsequently questioned, Cromwell went down to the House, and moved the attainder of Cardinal Pole, of his venerable mother, the Countess of Salisbury, of the lately executed Marquess of Exeter's widow, of two knights, of three Irish priests, a Dominican friar, and eight other persons [a]. The Countess was charged with having carried on a secret correspondence with her son the Cardinal, by means of the rector of Warblington, a parish on the Hampshire coast, within a few miles of her seat at Cowdray, in Sussex, where she was said to have kept some of the papal bulls [a], and a banner lately displayed by the northern rebels, which was produced to the House of Lords [b]. The high-born matron was also accused of having used her influence to prevent her tenants from reading the Bible, and the several religious tracts recently published by authority. The three Irish priests were charged with having carried letters out of their own country, to Pole and the Pope. The other accused persons were charged with various treasonable and seditious acts. Against all these persons, excepting only the Cardinal, it is probable that no case of heinous guilt could be clearly established, as the bill of attainder did not pass until after a spirited opposition. Within a short time afterwards the two knights were executed; the Marchioness of Exeter was pardoned, and sur-

[a] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 556. [a] Herbert, 219.

[b] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 556.

vived her troubles seventeen years; the Countess of Salisbury, who maintained her innocence with great vehemence, notwithstanding her advanced age, was detained prisoner in the Tower; until, after the lapse of two years, she perished on the scaffold [c].

On the 23d of May Cromwell brought in a bill to enable the King to found new bishoprics by his letters patent. This appears to have encountered no opposition; and under its provisions, the six new sees formerly mentioned, were erected towards the end of the next year. By a draught of this bill in the King's hand-writing, still extant, it seems that his intentions were to found fourteen bishoprics [d], instead of six, and among these fourteen, neither Bristol nor Chester is included. The same instrument also acquaints us, that some of the dissolved religious houses were to have been converted into colleges and schools. But the execution of these liberal intentions was found incompatible either with the incumbered state of the monastic property, or with the expectations of Henry's courtiers: hence the greater part of the plan never was carried into effect.

Another act, passed at this time, went to the dangerous length of giving to royal proclamations

[c] Herbert, 219.

[d] Viz. Waltham, St. Alban's, Dunstable, Newenham, Osney, Peterborough, Westminster, Leicester, Gloucester, Fountains, Bury, Shrewsbury, Welbeck, and Launceston. From a paper in the King's hand-writing. Strype, Eccl. Mem. Appendix, I. 406.

the force of law. It was among the subterfuges under which some of the sturdier Romanists sheltered their resistance to the measures recently taken for the revival of Scriptural Christianity, that the injunctions issued for that purpose were not constitutionally binding upon Englishmen, inasmuch as they emanated from the King's single authority. Respecting this contemptuous mode of treating royal rescripts, the preamble to the Act states, that "his Majesty may full ill bear it;" and therefore, to prevent its recurrence, it was enacted, that the reigning monarch, with the advice of his council; or the privy council, in case of the sovereign's minority, might publish proclamations, inflicting penalties, which were to be obeyed as if they were acts of Parliament[e]. This privilege, however, was not to confer upon the crown the power of injuring any subject in his person, liberty, or estate. But since it is not very easy to contrive penalties which do not interfere with one or all of these, this act really vested in the judges a very dangerous discretion, which, in their dependent condition, they could hardly fail of using to uphold the intentions of authority. It was from this statute that the religious alterations made in the beginning of the next reign, derived their legality.

Of all the proceedings in this Parliament, that most pregnant with historical interest, is the Act of Six Articles, the bloody statute, or whip with

[e] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 407.

six strings, as it was familiarly termed by those exposed to its merciless barbarity. The passing of this persecuting edict was the greatest triumph gained by the Romish party in this reign; and it remains upon record no very honourable testimony to their memory. Their artful representations having at length succeeded in overpowering the influence of Cranmer and Cromwell, they became eager to improve the advantage which they had gained. Only a week from the opening of Parliament was suffered to elapse before the Lord Chancellor Audley brought down to the House a royal message, stating, that his Majesty being desirous of establishing unanimity, and of terminating religious controversies among his people, had commanded him to move the appointment of a committee, which should examine the doctrines then most keenly debated, and prepare for the consideration of the House some articles likely to give general satisfaction. At this time no party in England would entertain the hope, that all men's opinions can be reduced to one uniform standard; or would venture to propose, that those who were not convinced should be persecuted: but in the sixteenth century such enlightened views were scarcely known, and therefore it may fairly be presumed, that when Henry consented to gratify his Romish advisers, he was not aware that their project was impracticable, and was likely to prove the source of intolerable oppression. The contemplated iniquity was indeed founded upon principles, which that age had not

learned to question; and the first proceedings of the Romanists in this affair were so contrived as to wear an appearance of impartiality in the eyes of superficial observers. The desired committee was selected in such a manner as to represent both interests in the House. It consisted of the two Archbishops, with the Bishops of Durham, Bath and Wells, Ely, Bangor, Carlisle, and Worcester. These prelates were enjoined to use every practicable despatch in the preparation of a bill, and they were excused from attendance upon any other parliamentary business until their labours should be completed. A committee so constituted was, however, most unlikely to bring its labours to a speedy termination. The two Archbishops held different opinions; with Cranmer sided Goodrich of Ely, and Latimer of Worcester; with Lee, the remaining four prelates. Of all the commissioners Cranmer and Tunstall were most distinguished for learning and talent; but of their agreement, no rational hope could be entertained. The Romanists indeed possessed a majority in the committee; but then Cromwell, the principal ecclesiastical officer, threw the weight of his influence into the other scale. Besides, it had been repeatedly declared, in authentic public instruments, and admitted by the leading men of both parties, that Scripture is the only rule of faith. This was a great advantage on the reforming side, as the other party were certain to support their positions by largely citing the fathers, and other authorities merely human. But whatever might

be the grounds of debate, or the ability with which these were urged, neither party was likely to convince or silence its opponents, as the disputants on both sides were contending for the principles in which they hoped to live and die. The little probability that any satisfactory result was to be expected from the coalition of such discordant elements, was indeed openly remarked in the House at the time when the committee was nominated, and the anticipations generally entertained were completely realized. From the 5th to the 16th of May the committee was engaged in fruitless controversy; and it then was no longer denied by any man, that from such a heterogeneous assemblage, there was little or no hope of receiving the bill desired.

On the 16th of May the Duke of Norfolk rose in his place, and after lamenting the length of time already consumed by the committee in unpromising discussion, proposed six questions to the consideration of the House, as necessary to be determined before it would be safe to legislate for the purpose of obtaining the desired unanimity. The questions were these: 1. Whether in the Eucharist our Saviour's body was present without any transubstantiation? 2. Whether that Sacrament ought to be administered to the laity in both kinds? 3. Whether vows of chastity, made either by men or women, are binding by the law of God? 4. Whether the divine law warrants the celebration of private masses? 5. Whether priests are allowed by the law of God to marry?

6. Whether, by the same law, auricular confession be necessary[f]? The first of these questions is remarkable, because it discovers a willingness on the part of the leading Romanists to leave the manner of the corporal presence undetermined, so long as the principle was maintained. This concession to public opinion plainly discovers the dawning of a conviction in the minds of those who maintained transubstantiation, that the doctrine was of no easy proof, and that Luther's modification of it was sufficient for their purposes[g].

[f] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 397.

[g] Bossuet accordingly thus exults in Luther's view of the Eucharistic controversy.. "Dieu donne des secretes bornes aux esprits les plus emportéz, et ne permet pas toujours aux novateurs d'affliger son Eglise autant qu'ils voudroient. Luther demeura frappé invinciblement de la force, et de la simplicité de ces paroles: *Ceci est mon corps, ceci est mon sang: ce corps livré pour vous, ce sang de la nouvelle alliance; ce sang repandu pour vous, et pour la remission de vos pechéz:* car c'est ainsi qu'il faudroit traduire ces paroles de nôtre Seigneur pour les rendre dans toute leur force.—Luther ne pût jamais se persuder, ni que Jesus Christ eût voulu obscurcir exprés l'institution de son Sacrement, ni que des paroles si simples fussent susceptibles de figures si violentes, ou pussent avoir un autre sens que celui qui etoit entré naturellement dans l'esprit de tous les peuples Chrêtiens en Orient, et en Occident, sans qu'ils en aient eté detournéz ni par la hauteur du mystere, ni par les subtilitéz de Berenger et de Viclef." (Hist. des Var. I. 37.) If, however, the author had chanced to recollect when he penned these passages that Christ uttered the words cited to Jews at the Paschal feast, and that the master of a Jewish family, in distributing the unleavened cakes at that festival to his household, regularly said, "This is the bread of affliction which our forefathers ate in Egypt;" he

Against the views entertained by Romanists respecting the last five of these questions, Cranmer argued with great learning and earnestness during three successive days[h]. Of his arguments no particulars are certainly known to be in existence, but his whole conduct in this arduous debate obtained for him universal applause. Even the Duke of Norfolk rendered justice to his zeal and ability[i]. Of the temporal lords, however, no one appears to have supported his view of the questions: among the bishops, Goodrich, Shaxton, Latimer, Hilsey, and Barlow, reinforced his arguments. But then as Lee, Stokesley, Tunstall, Gardiner, Sampson, Repps, and Aldrich[k], strenuously maintained the opposite side, and were probably known to be backed by the royal countenance, the exertions of the reforming party served only to delay and embarrass the Romanists in their iniquitous career. The King seems to have been rather staggered by the vigorous opposition made by Cranmer, of whose judgment and integrity he entertained the highest opinion; and accordingly he desired the Archbishop to furnish him with the heads of his arguments[l]. Of these

would probably have thought that the Apostles could have felt no difficulty in understanding their Master's words figuratively. They knew that the Paschal cakes were *not* "the bread of affliction," but only a memorial of it.

[h] Foxe, 1037.

[i] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 104.

[k] Anonymous letter supposed to have been written by a member of Parliament. Strype, Mem. Cranm. Appendix, 743.

[l] Herbert, 219.

he admitted the learning and ingenuity; but his mind seems to have been made up, and he would not consent to abandon that line of policy, which his insidious advisers had persuaded him was imperative upon him, if he valued the reputation of orthodoxy, or the stability of his throne [m].

On the 24th of May the Parliament was prorogued. On Friday, the 30th, it met again; and both parties re-entered the House confirmed by reflection, during the short recess, in the opinions which they had severally supported during the recent debates. The King too was nowise shaken in the resolution to which he had come. However, as the party backed by royal influence was desirous of keeping up appearances as long as possible, Audley, the Chancellor, informed the Lords on their re-assembling, that both his Majesty, and the prelates, having attentively thought upon the mode most likely to secure religious unanimity, it was the Sovereign's wish, that each party should prepare a bill by Sunday next, for the purpose of submitting it to the royal approbation; and that the bill, which should eventually come to the House so recommended, should be debated by their Lordships. Arrangements for enacting this barefaced farce, were made forthwith. The two committees were appointed; they each prepared a bill, presented it to the House, and the House presented it to the King. Of course the bill framed by Cranmer and his friends

[m] Herbert, 219.

did not please: their Lordships received a gracious message from the crown, recommending them to discuss the Romish bill [n]. Not contented with lending himself thus far to the views of a party, Henry then even condescended to request of Cranmer that he would absent himself from his parliamentary duty during the coming division. But the Primate, who had said that the cause was God's, not his own, respectfully declined to gratify his royal master by his absence [o]. Henry, however, was determined to preclude all farther opposition. He came down to the House in person [p]; and there, most probably, made a speech [q] in favour of the Romish party. To this unconstitutional and indecorous act must the passing of the bloody statute be attributed. Even Cranmer appears to have thought it unbecoming of him to dispute publicly with his Sovereign. The bill, accordingly, rapidly passed the House [r], being at

[n] It seems the matter was long contested, for it (the bill) was not brought to the House before the 7th of June." Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 399.

[o] Foxe, 1037.

[p] When the Devonshire insurgents demanded, in the next reign, the revival of this persecuting edict, Cranmer thus addressed them: "If the King's Majesty had not come personally into the Parliament House, those laws (the Six Articles) had never passed." Strype, Mem. Cranm. Appendix, 808.

[q] This seems to be intimated by the following words, in the anonymous news letter cited above: "Yet finally his Highness confounded them all with God's learning." Indeed Henry was not likely to come down to the House, and remain in silence there.

[r] It was read the first time on the 7th of June, the second time

last opposed, as it is reported, only by Shaxton, Bishop of Salisbury[s]. The Commons were equally expeditious with it[t]: the royal assent was given after the lapse of a few days[u]; and thus the people were laid prostrate at the feet of intolerance and oppression.

This infamous act is headed by a preamble, declaring the King's desire of uniformity in religious opinions among his subjects; his care in consulting the Parliament and Convocation upon the points of doctrine most controverted; the long debates which had ensued in consequence; his own personal interference both at the council table, and in Parliament; and how he had opened at those places "many things of high learning and great knowledge." After this routine of customary formality and fulsome compliment, in which, by the way, the Sovereign's unconstitutional assumption of parliamentary duties is pretty plainly set forth, follow the tremendous provisions of the act, arranged under the six following heads. 1. It was resolved that the strength and efficacy of Christ's mighty word, spoken by the priest in the Sacrament of the altar, converts the whole substance of the consecrated elements into the natural body and blood of Jesus; so that, after

on the 9th, and on the 10th it was passed. Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 399.

[s] Anon. letter, ut supra.

[t] It passed the Lower House June 14. Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 400.

[u] June 28. Ibid.

the consecration, neither bread nor wine remains, nor any other substance, except the Saviour's body and blood, which were derived from the Virgin Mary. Against this self-evident absurdity, if any person should presume to speak, preach, or write, after the 12th of July next ensuing, he was to be adjudged a heretic, to be burnt, even if he should offer to abjure his opinion, and to forfeit all his property to the crown. 2. It was resolved, that communion in both kinds, is not, by the Divine law, of universal necessity; since it is verily believed, that in both the bread and wine apart, the body and blood of Christ are as truly contained as in the elements taken together. 3. That priests are forbidden to marry by the law of God. 4. That vows of chastity are binding by the Divine law. 5. That private masses are agreeable to God's law, and proper to be continued, on account of the consolations and benefits which they may bestow upon good Christians. 6. That auricular confession is expedient, and necessary to be retained in the Church of God." Whoever should preach, or obstinately dispute, against any one of these articles after the 12th of July, was to be adjudged a felon, and to suffer death as such, without benefit of clergy. Any one who should attack these articles either in writing, or by word of mouth, was, for the first offence, to be retained in prison during the King's pleasure, and to forfeit his goods and chattels: for the second offence, he was to be deemed guilty of felony, and to suffer accordingly. All marriages of priests, and of wo-

men who had vowed chastity, were declared null and void: if any priest were living in illicit intercourse with a woman, upon his first conviction he was to forfeit his preferment, goods, and chattels; upon the second, he was to suffer as a felon. To the women transgressing in this manner was awarded the same measure of severity. Those who contemned, or abstained from confession, or from the Eucharist, at the usual times, were to suffer imprisonment, with the forfeiture of their goods and chattels, for the first offence; for the second, they were to undergo the penalties of felony. To prevent this frightful display of tyranny from becoming a dead letter, it was provided, that commissions should be issued to the several prelates, their chancellors, commissaries, and (to guard against the effects of episcopal humanity) to such other persons as the King should appoint in the different counties. The commissioners thus appointed, were to hold their sessions quarterly, or oftener, to proceed upon presentments, with the assistance of a jury, and to swear, that they would execute their duties without partiality, favour, affection, corruption, or malice. In order to render the people fully aware of the blessings in reserve for a nation under the yoke of bigoted and enraged Romanists, incumbents were to read this act in their respective churches once in every quarter[x].

Great was the exultation of the Romish party

[x] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 400.

upon the passing of this iniquitous act. The more sincere and unthinking bigots, who had looked with horror upon the King's disposition to what their priests denominated heresy, were now satisfied of his orthodoxy, and hence something reconciled to the dissolution of monasteries: while all those worldly-minded men, whose interested and party feelings so much absorb their thoughts, that they cannot be excluded even from their religious views, contemplated with great satisfaction the tremendous powers with which their faction was now armed. They foresaw, that very few would venture to oppose Romish party leaders, or to controvert Romish doctrines, in the face of such alarming penalties. Nor did they doubt, that the honesty or indiscretion of the more determined friends to the Reformation, would lay some of them open to the operation of this justly termed bloody statute. But while they rejoiced in the prospect of avenging themselves upon their more resolute enemies, and of overawing the rest, it was some abatement of their triumph to observe, that priests living in concubinage, were to be punished as well as those who should venture to marry. By this clause the reigning Pope stood condemned, since his Holiness had notoriously lived a fornicator, and Europe had been lately edified by his successful negociations to marry his grandson, Octavius Farnese, to the Emperor's natural daughter. Nor was it to be concealed, that, generally speaking, the celibacy of the clergy did by no means imply their chastity also. It

would have been to the credit of human nature, if sensible men, accustomed to this disgusting state of things, had shewn an anxiety to excuse their spiritual guides from undertaking engagements, which they habitually violated, so much to their own discredit, and to the prejudice of sound religion; but the contrary is the fact. There were few restorations of the ancient system, against which Romanists were more prejudiced, than against clerical marriages. When the Duke of Norfolk met his old chaplain, Lawney, soon after the Legislature had been cajoled and intimidated into passing the Six Articles, he immediately adverted to the triumph gained by his faction in forcing clergymen to lead single lives. "O, my Lawney," said the Duke, "now do you think that priests may have wives?" "Indeed," replied the facetious divine, "I cannot tell your Grace whether or not priests may have wives; but of this I am very well assured, that, in spite of your act, the wives will have priests." Norfolk could not parry this well-founded sally of humour; he merely turned to those around him, and said, "Hearken, masters, how this knave scorneth our act, and maketh it not worth a fly. Well, I see by this, that thou wilt never forget thine old tricks[y]."

[y] "This Lawney was a witty man, and chaplain to the old Duke of Norfolk, and had been one of the scholars placed by the Cardinal (Wolsey) in his new college at Oxon, where he was chaplain of the house, and prisoner there with Frith, another of the scholars. In the time of the Six Articles he was a minister

To Cranmer the new act was particularly distressing. Not only did it blight his hopes of farther purging the Church of England from the unscriptural innovations of Popery, but also it interrupted his domestic happiness. He could no longer with decency and safety retain his wife, even privately, as he had done hitherto. He therefore bent before the iniquity of the times, and sent her away to her friends in Germany. The King was grieved when he understood the concern and perplexity into which his own unconstitutional subserviency to the artifices of a faction had thrown his valued friend. He endeavoured to assuage the Archbishop's melancholy by assurances of his continued favour, and by desiring the lords of Parliament to attend an entertainment which he commanded him to give at Lambeth. The peers, accordingly, were invited to partake of the Primate's hospitality; and on the appointed day his apartments were filled with the noblest personages in England. The constrained formalities of the visit were commenced by a message delivered to the Archbishop from his sovereign to the following effect: "That his Majesty had desired the peers to cherish and comfort the Primate in his royal behalf, after the labours which he had undergone in the late debates, and the disappointment which he had experienced in the manner of their termination; assuring him, that although his arguments had

in Kent, placed there, I suppose, by the Archbishop." Strype, Mem. Cranm. 49.

failed of convincing the House, they discovered great wisdom, penetration, and learning." To this address the Archbishop replied, "That he humbly thanked the King's Highness for his condescension towards him, as well as their lordships, for taking the trouble to communicate a message so gracious; and that, he hoped to God, that the arguments and authorities which he had brought forward in the late debates, would even yet acquire the influence justly due to them, as by that means the glory of God, and the advantage of the kingdom, would be materially promoted." In the course of the entertainment which followed these preliminaries, several of the distinguished guests contrived to compliment their host. One of them, unluckily, thought of comparing him with Cardinal Wolsey. "My Lord of Canterbury," observed the eulogist, "is distinguished by a mild and amiable demeanour, which gains upon all who approach him; whereas the Cardinal was an intractable, haughty, churlish prelate, who treated with disrespect even persons of the highest quality." The comparison was then pursued by Cromwell, who said "that Wolsey maintained his ascendancy by an unlimited subservience to his master's humours, whereas their most reverend host was so happy as to preserve the King's confidence and affection, even while he strenuously disputed against the propriety of his measures." These smoothly-gliding compliments might, perhaps, have been re-echoed from other parts of the room, had not Cromwell's

mention of Wolsey caused Norfolk's contempt for the Vicar-general's unfledged nobility to explode at once. "No man," observed the Duke, "is better able to paint the Cardinal's qualities than my Lord Cromwell, since his Lordship was once a member of that prelate's domestic establishment." Galled by this illiberal sneer, the Vicar-general thus retorted: "True it is, I did once serve the Cardinal; but I never blindly approved all his conduct, nor would I have followed him to Italy had he been elected Pope: his Grace of Norfolk, however, was not so nice. He requested of Wolsey, in the event of his success, to appoint him admiral of the papal gallies, and even went so far as to bargain about the number of florins which he expected to receive by way of salary in that situation." This, though not more than Norfolk deserved, was more than he could bear. He swore that Cromwell told a lie; and it required all the address of the Archbishop, and of his other guests, to prevent these two from proceeding to violence or farther indecorum. Never were the Duke and Cromwell friends again[z].

[z] Foxe, (1085.) from the relation of Morice, Cranmer's secretary. Archbishop Parker, for whose use Morice prepared an account of his patron, gives a similar relation. It is to be recollected, that both the Archbishop and the martyrologist were living at the time when the Lambeth dinner was given, and that they came into public notice long before all Cranmer's guests could have been removed from the stage of life; for he appears to have invited the whole House of Peers. If, therefore, the secretary had misrepresented this very public incident in his master's life, he might easily have been contradicted. The following

The King's Romish advisers having prevailed upon him to force the six articles upon the Parliament, could not rest satisfied until the people had become duly sensible, that the season for exercising their minds upon religious subjects was over for the present, at all events. Commissioners were appointed to take cognizance of such breaches of the statute as had been committed in London. These metropolitan inquisitors were selected with eminent discrimination, being exclusively headlong and ignorant sticklers for the old abuses[a]. They sate in Mercers' Chapel, and their labours were worthy of themselves, and of those who called upon them for their services. By the end of a fortnight there was not a single preacher, or other noted individual in London, known to have spoken against Popes and Popery, who was not harassed by proceedings under the new act. More than five hundred persons were presented and indicted. The King's Romish counsellors had not even hoped to find agents so superfluously zealous; and the discovery caused them more embarrassment than pleasure. It be-

is Dr. Lingard's account. When "the severe and barbarous statute" of the six articles was passed, Cranmer "in haste despatched his children with their mother to her friends in Germany, *and wrote to the King an apology for his presumption in having opposed the opinion of his Majesty*. Henry, appeased by his submission, returned a gracious and consoling answer by the Duke of Norfolk, and Cromwell the Vicar-general."

[a] They were "such as had read no part of Scripture in English, or in anywise favoured such as had, or loved the preachers of it." Halle.

came evident that prison-room must soon be wanting for the safe custody of those whom such stirring commissioners would deem unworthy to remain at large. Even to punish the numbers already in durance appeared both inhuman and hazardous; yet it was not easy to make selections. In this dilemma, Audley, the Chancellor, advised that all the pretended criminals should be pardoned[b]. Cranmer, Cromwell, and the Duke of Suffolk, concurred in this recommendation; which was carried into effect[c]. Nor were any more of these iniquitous oppressions exercised so long as the Vicar-general was allowed to live. Latimer and Shaxton were, indeed, the only considerable sufferers for conscience' sake at this time. Immediately after the passing of the six articles these two prelates resigned their sees[d]: but the loss of wealth and station were not considered by their enemies a sufficient punishment. They had spoken against the doctrines now guarded by such tremendous penalties: for this liberty they were committed to the Tower, where Latimer remained a prisoner until Henry's death, and Shaxton until he relapsed into the opinions of his youth.

[b] Halle.

[c] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 412.

[d] July 1. (Stow.) "On the 7th of July, the chapters of these churches (Worcester and Salisbury) petitioned the King for his leave to fill those sees, they being then vacant by the free resignation of the former Bishops. Upon which the *congé d'élire* for both was granted." Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 411.

It appears from a curious incident which occurred about this time, that some triumphant bigots would have been not a little gratified to see Cranmer sharing the imprisonment of his friends. On the day following that in which he had entertained the peers, he desired Morice, his secretary, to make a fair copy of his arguments against the six articles, for the purpose of submitting them to the King. When he had completed his task, Morice went to Croydon, where the Archbishop then was, for the purpose of delivering the papers to him. He was desired to take them back, and to lodge them safely until they should be required. When he returned to Lambeth, he found that the almoner, who occupied the same apartment with himself, was from home, and had taken the key of the door with him. Being thus unable to gain admittance into his own room, the secretary determined to take a boat and pay a visit to his father, who was then in London. The papers, for greater security, he retained about his person. When he took the water, four yeomen of the guard joined him, and these, on approaching a place on the Southwark bank, where the King was present at a bear-baiting, insisted upon lying to for a while so as to catch a glimpse of the barbarous sport. Their desire had not long been gratified, before the poor bear broke loose, and making for the water, swam towards the secretary's boat, followed by the dogs. This view of the sport was rather too near, and therefore the yeomen immediately attempted to jump into a neighbour-

ing barge; which two of them succeeded in doing; the other two, who fell into the river, were soon picked up. Morice kept his seat in the wherry until the bear, with his canine persecutors, actually entered and upset it. However, he was soon rescued from his perilous situation; but he had lost his papers, which floated down the stream for a few yards when they were picked up by the keeper of the bear. This man, being unable to read, desired a priest to tell him the purport of what he had found. He had scarcely done this before the secretary came up and claimed his charge. "What," said the priest, "dare ye claim such a book as this? Whose servant are ye?" The reply was, "I am servant to my Lord of Canterbury, one of the council." "Yea, marry," said the bear-keeper, "I thought as much. Ye be like, I trust, to be both hanged for this book." "Why, as for that," rejoined Morice, "there is nothing in the book that my Lord will not avouch to the King's Majesty. So give it me, and thou shalt have a crown to drink." The man surlily replied, "If thou wouldst give me five hundred crowns thou shouldst not have it." This stubbornness threw Morice into the utmost perplexity. He began to enquire whether there were no means of mollifying the holder of his papers, and well knowing the persuasive powers of good cheer, he requested a common acquaintance, who kept a grocer's shop in Cheapside, to provide at his expense a good supper, and invite to it both the man of bears and himself. The guests arrived

and took their meal; to which succeeded, by way of dessert, a negociation for the surrender of Cranmer's papers, upon the payment of twenty shillings. But the bearward's zeal for Popery was all on fire. He said, "that the book must be delivered to one of the council, who would, doubtless, look upon it as a matter not to be redeemed by a supper or a piece of money." In vain the worthy grocer attempted to persuade his friend, that he was determined upon a course which would bring him neither "penny nor praise." The finder of the papers was immovable; and at last, desirous of escaping farther importunity, he abruptly left the house, "more like a bearward than like an honest man*." Morice then determined upon relating the whole affair to Cromwell early on the following morning. That officer was on the point of setting off for court, and he said at once to the distressed secretary, "Come with me, and I will get your book again." As was expected, the man was found waiting in the King's outer hall, for the purpose of delivering his prize to one of Cranmer's enemies; when the Vicar-general thus disturbed his meditations: "Come hither, fellow; what book is that which thou hast in thy hands?" Without waiting for a reply, Cromwell snatched the papers out of the man's hands, and when he was beginning to excuse himself, rebuked him in the following homely terms. "Who made thee so bold as to detain

* Foxe; (1081.) from whom all the above particulars are taken.

any book or writing from a counsellor's servant, specially being his secretary? It is more meeter for thee to meddle with thy bears than with such writing: and were it not for thy mistress's sake[r], I would set thee fast by the feet, to teach such malapert knaves to meddle with counsellor's matters. Was not money well bestowed upon such a good fellow as this is, that knoweth not a counsellor's man from a cobler's man?" With these words he left the astounded bearward to trudge homewards, his vanity mortified, his zeal cooled, and his pockets empty.

The Romish party having succeeded in intimidating their adversaries by means of the late sanguinary act, next endeavoured to conciliate the public favour towards the ritual of their Church. Nothing fills a Protestant with so much surprise and contempt as the various crossings, bowings, sprinklings, anointings, and other childish formalities, which encumber the Roman worship. It is true, that when the Reformation first shed its glorious light upon Europe, men were accustomed to these things; but their utility was naturally questioned as soon as the cause of Popery was shaken, and when it was found that Scripture affords no encouragement to such superstitious trifles, they became objects of disgust and ridicule. In order to rescue their service from the

[r] He was bearward to the Lady Elizabeth: that young princess was about six years old; in these days we should think that the formation of her bear-baiting establishment might, without any derogation to her dignity, have been deferred a little longer.

contempt into which it had fallen, the Romanists compiled *a Book of Ceremonies*[s], of which the principal object was to assign mystical significations to those endless forms which distinguish their worship. For instance, the frivolities appended to the administration of Baptism, are thus described and explained:—The priest is not only to make a cross upon the infant's forehead, as a mark of his dedication to a crucified Saviour; he is also to make another on his breast, to denote that he ought to believe with his heart; he is to put "hallowed salt into his mouth, to signify the spiritual salt wherewith he should be seasoned and powdered;" to make a sign of the cross upon his forehead, as an adjuration to the devil to depart; to wet with spittle his "nose-thurles and ears," to signify that God's grace opens the noses of men to the sweet savour of Christian knowledge, and their ears to the hearing of the Divine Word; to make a sign of a cross in the infant's right hand, as an admonition valiantly to defend Christ; to take the child by the right hand, for the purpose of introducing him into the Church; to anoint him "upon his breast before, and between his shoulders behind," to signify that his heart should be dedicated to God, and that he should be strong to bear the Lord's yoke; to anoint the head with chrism, to signify that he is anointed by the unction of the Holy Ghost; to put a white vesture

[s] Printed by Strype, Eccl. Mem. Appendix, I. 411. It appears, from a copy of this tract, in the Cotton library, that Gardiner took the trouble to revise it. Strype, Mem. Cranm. 106.

on him, in token of his manumission from the captivity of the devil, and of the innocence derived from baptism; and, finally, the priest was to place a candle in the child's right's hand, to signify that he ought to shew before men the light of a good example. This mass of flimsy apologies for such egregious trifling, was intended for general circulation under the sanction of the Convocation; but from some cause or other, not certainly known, the design did not take effect. Cranmer appears to have been occupied about this time in refuting some production of the Romanists; and, it is supposed, that the Book of Ceremonies was the object of his controversial pen[h]. It is mortifying to think, that even serious minds are liable to fits of such miserable drivelling, that able men are occasionally called upon to expose absurdities, which a sensible child would be ashamed to practise.

Not only were the Romanists disappointed in the hope of carrying their book of Ceremonies through the Convocation, and of imbruing their hands in Protestant blood, by means of the recent statute; they were also compelled to witness the restoration of the people's right to provide themselves with that Sacred Volume, which God revealed for the instruction of mankind. In the version of the Bible, published under the name of Matthewe, various corrections had been made with a view to the publication of an improved

[h] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 107.

edition of the work. Paris then afforded better paper, and more expert printers, than could be found in England; it was therefore determined, by the aid of Boner's mediation, to have the work printed in that capital. There twenty-five hundred copies were actually struck off when the inquisition, justly considering the suppression of Christian knowledge to be strictly within its province, seized the printed sheets [i], and ignominiously committed them to the flames. Some of the printers were cited before this tribunal, to answer for the crime of earning a subsistence by aiding mechanically in rendering God's Word accessible to his rational creatures. The Englishmen engaged in a work so culpable in the estimation of a Church pretending exclusively to teach the way of salvation, fled in dismay to their own country. There Cromwell undertook to be their protector, and encouraged them to return to Paris for the purpose of procuring the types which had been used in working off the destroyed impression [k]. This object was accomplished; and in England the goodly folio, for such it was, uninterruptedly made its way through the press [l]. It was ordinarily called the Great, or Cranmer's Bible; the latter designation being derived from the pains which the Primate had taken to render this edition more correct than any of its predecessors.

[i] By an order dated December 17, 1538. Lewis, 121.
[k] Ibid.
[l] It was finished in April, 1539. Dr. Cotton's List, 6.

With this labour, so worthy of his character and station, he was not, however, contented: he also desired to procure from the King a licence, permitting all his subjects freely at all times to avail themselves of the means of information, which God has vouchsafed to men. The prospect of this indulgence alarmed the Romish party; and Gardiner exerted all his influence to persuade his Sovereign that it certainly must be his duty to prevent the people from reading the Bible by their own fire-sides. But Henry doubted the justice of such reasoning; and one day, when both the Bishop of Winchester, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, were in his presence together, he desired to hear the grounds of their respective opinions. Gardiner then descanted upon the dangers of allowing to the people an unrestrained access to Scripture; and in the course of his argument he had the hardihood to declare, that what are called the apostolical canons, were of equal authority with the acknowledged writings of the Apostles; an assertion which he defied Cranmer to disprove. The Archbishop found the task far from difficult; and the King, stricken with the contrast between the sophistry of the one disputant, and the plain sense of the other, at last abruptly told Gardiner, "Such a novice as you had better not meddle with an old, experienced captain, like my Lord of Canterbury[m]." Farther opposition to the Primate's application was now evidently

[m] "Multis præsentibus." Parker, 500.

hopeless; and the Bible soon appeared introduced by royal letters patent, stating, that "the King being desirous of enabling his subjects to attain the knowledge of God's will, was sensible that that end could be accomplished in no manner so effectually as by allowing the free and liberal use of the Bible in English; but that, to avoid dissention, he would suffer one translation only to get abroad, and therefore he had charged the Vicar-general to permit no impression of the Bible, or of any part of it, to be circulated during the space of five years, unless it had been made under his express authority[n]." The licence thus conceded gave general satisfaction. Individuals of piety and seriousness, whose minds were not utterly enslaved by the long operation of Romish prejudices, were highly gratified by the opportunity of drawing instruction and consolation from the sacred source of truth: while others were led by mere curiosity to examine the most revered and celebrated of all books, which, although latterly the subject of many earnest debates, had not been freely conceded to the popular perusal until after so many arduous struggles. The result was as might be expected: many such persons as now turn from the reading of Scripture as an irksome task, eagerly acquired a knowledge of its contents while recommended by the charm of novelty. For a time the romances of chivalry were banished

[n] The King's letters patent for printing the Bible in English. Dated November 13. Burnet, Hist. Ref. Records, I. 272.

from the tables of the opulent and the idle: according to a manifesto justifying the King's recent ecclesiastical proceedings, "the old fabulous and phantastical books of the Table Round, Lancelot du Lake, Huon de Bourdeux, Bevy of Hampton, Guy of Warwick, &c. and such other unpure filth, and vain fabulosity, the Word of God has abolished utterly[o]." Nor did any circumstance operate more unfavourably upon the Romish cause, than the free circulation of the Scriptures, which had been so late and reluctantly conceded. Men are seldom willing to admit their ignorance, unless in excuse for some transgression. When, accordingly, they began to peruse the Sacred Volume, they were struck, not with the difficulty of understanding it, but with that of finding in it the distinguishing features of Popery. Nor did they doubt, that to protect the people from an embarrassment of the latter kind, was the true reason why Romish priests have ever been so anxious to lock the Scriptures up in an unknown tongue.

In order to counteract the intrigues of the Romish faction with greater effect and certainty, Cromwell used all his influence to bring about a marriage between the King and some Protestant princess. It was sufficiently notorious that Henry had allowed himself to be a good deal swayed by his wives; and the Reformers had found many occasions to regret the loss of such domestic counsellors as the last two queens. This uxorious

[o] Collier, Records, II. 36.

disposition of the King had not escaped the notice either of foreign powers, or of Englishmen attached to Romanism. Accordingly, all those who felt anxious for the ascendancy of that persuasion, were desirous of seeing a new queen of their own sentiments. Both Francis and the Emperor would have been pleased to place one of their own connexions upon the English throne. But as Henry had been habitually represented by Romish bigots and partizans as a heretic and a monster, the ladies proposed to him were far from anxious to attain the honour of his hand. Nor was it over easy to please himself. In addition to the desire of a handsome wife, entertained by most men, he had adopted a notion, that his bride ought to be rather above the middle size, in order to match well with his own unwieldy figure[p]. These impediments at length made him despair of being able to form a French or Austrian alliance, and the Vicar-general proposed one, which appeared eligible, among the German princes. As a measure of policy, the proposal was evidently deserving of attention, since the King's Protestant allies were then highly disgusted with the act of the Six Articles. Melancthon wrote a long letter of argument and expostulation upon the subject of that iniquitous statute; and it was undeniable that there was great danger of a misunderstanding between England and the confederates; a state of things far from satisfactory now that the French

[p] Hume.

and Imperial cabinets seemed to be cordially united. Under these circumstances it was determined to demand in marriage for the King one of the sisters of the Duke of Cleves, a prince of great importance in the Protestant confederacy, whose territories, being contiguous to the Emperor's Flemish provinces, were favourably situated as a check upon that monarch's ambition. The Duke's eldest sister was married to the Duke of Saxony, a potentate who held the highest rank among the confederated Reformers. The two younger ladies were represented as handsome, and one of them, at all events, of that portly size, which was now considered indispensable in the queen of England. Henry, however, not willing to rely upon interested reports, desired Dr. Wootton, his agent at the court of Cleves, to furnish him with an account of the princess recommended to him as a bride. The doctor does not appear to have ventured upon a personal description, but he detailed the lady's accomplishments with admirable brevity and precision, in the following words: "She can both write and read in her own language, and sew very well; only for music, it is not the manner of the country to learn it." There is no doubt that reading and writing were qualifications far from universal among the fair sex, even in higher life, at that period; and therefore Anne's abilities in those respects were a proof that her education had not been neglected; but it was rather unlucky that these accomplishments did not extend beyond the Dutch, a language of which the King

was wholly ignorant. Nor was it any recommendation to the royal suitor, that music, of which he was passionately fond, had formed no part of her education. However, if her personal charms should make a sufficient compensation for these deficiencies, he was not disposed to decline the connexion on their account. In order to satisfy himself upon this subject, he despatched to Cleves the celebrated Holbein, then in his employment, and desired him to transmit into England portraits of the two princesses, Anne and Amelia [1]. An artist of genius seldom fails to discover the materials for a pleasing picture in any subject; and every one employed in painting the portraits of ladies, is well aware that he can never give satisfaction, unless he renders a little more than justice to the charms of the original. Holbein, accordingly, did not shew himself deficient in the talents and policy requisite for gaining applause in the exercise of his admirable art. In the course of a short time two beautiful pictures found their way to England; and Henry became satisfied that his widowhood would be most agreeably terminated by a marriage with the elder princess. His anticipations of connubial felicity were strengthened by a visit, which he received early in the autumn, from some of the lady's princely connexions. These distinguished foreigners were received with great hospitality, entertained by a succession of hunting parties, and jovial ban-

[1] Herbert, 221.

quets[r]; and at length dismissed to Germany under a full conviction that the Lady Anne was likely to wed not only a mighty monarch, but also a frank and generous husband. Even the Six Articles were represented in more favourable colours than those in which the Protestant confederates had hitherto considered them. The Germans appear to have been informed, probably with truth, that this infamous act had passed merely by means of a successful conspiracy among some of the bishops[s]; they knew that it had been prevented from coming into operation; and they were encouraged to believe, that in a conference between English and German divines, which, it was proposed, should be holden at some convenient place upon the continent, all differences of opinion between the two parties might be satisfactorily adjusted. One impediment in the way of the projected union, was indeed discovered during the progress of the negociations. The princess had been affianced in her father's lifetime to the Duke of Lorrain's son; but she was then under age, as was the intended bridegroom, and neither of them afterwards insisted upon ratifying the contract[t]. This, therefore, was con-

[r] Godwin, Annal. 70.

[s] "There followed a decree of the Parliament, which, as we hear, *was made by the conspiracy and craftiness of certain bishops*, in whose mind hitherto the veneration, or worshipping of Roman ungodliness, is rooted." The Elector of Saxony's letter to the King. Strype, Eccl. Mem. Records, I. 438.

[t] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 419.

sidered no good reason why Anne should not form a new connexion. Nor was the Elector of Saxony's reluctance to a closer alliance with a monarch who had lately given the royal assent to the Six Articles, allowed to set aside the proposed marriage. The Duke of Cleves was insensible to objections tending to disappoint his sister of holding the highest rank among European ladies. The preliminaries, accordingly, were concluded to the satisfaction of all parties most nearly concerned; and as the year drew towards a close, Anne, splendidly attended, left her native country, and soon reached the strip of continental territory then appended to the English crown.

She was there received with great magnificence; and soon after she landed at Deal, under every demonstration of respect. As she pursued her journey towards London, the Archbishop of Canterbury, accompanied by the Bishops of Ely, St. Asaph, and St. David's, and the suffragan Bishop of Dover[u], with a gaily-apparelled troop of gentlemen, met her upon Barham Downs, and attended her to St. Austin's without Canterbury, where she passed the night. On the next day, which was the last of the year, she proceeded on her journey; when the Duke of Norfolk, attended by some other peers, the barons of the exchequer, and a gallant company of esquires from the east

[u] Halle. All these prelates belonged at that time, ostensibly at least, to the Protestant party; even Thornden, the suffragan of Dover, who became eventually an active Papist, was then intimately connected with Cranmer.

ern counties met her, and escorted her to Sittingbourne; at which place she found a lodging in readiness. On new-year's day the exulting bride reached Rochester, where the Bishop's palace was prepared for her reception. There an unexpected visitor gave a new turn to her meditations. The King, "which sore desired to see her Grace, accompanied with no more than eight persons of his privy chamber, and both he and they all, apparelled in marble coats[x]," was introduced into her apartment; and the fond illusion, which, by the aid of Holbein's pencil, and his own fancy, had kept him on the tip-toe of expectation, vanished at once. "He was so marvellously astonished, that he knew not well what to do or say: he brought with him divers things, which he meant to present her with his own hands, that is to say, a partlet, a muffler, a cup, and other things; but being suddenly quite discouraged and amazed with her presence, his mind changed, and he delivered them unto Sir Anthony Browne to give them unto her, *but with as small shew of kingly kindness as might be*[y]." However, before Anne received this mortification, the ceremony of her introduction was over, and it was not altogether unsatisfactory. When the King approached, she knelt; and he, raising her with graceful courtesy, saluted her cheek. He then bade her adieu for the present; and, in a very melancholy mood, returned to Greenwich. To his personal attend-

[x] Halle. [y] Stow.

ants he loudly lamented his disappointment, often repeating, "I like her not:" and even her ample size now added to his disgust. He swore that they had brought to him "a great Flanders mare[z]." His only consolation was derived from considering, that as his marriage had not been solemnized, it might even yet be broken off.

Unfortunately for the gratification of Henry's wishes, political circumstances rendered a breach with the German Protestants at that time highly inexpedient. Not only had the two great continental monarchs laid their long-subsisting animosities to rest, but also, what seemed extraordinary after so many mutual affronts and ill offices, there was even an appearance of personal friendship between them. Charles, embarrassed by a revolt which had broken out at Ghent, desired permission to travel through France towards the scene of commotion. His request was granted with alacrity, and the journey through his generous rival's territories was made to resemble a progress through a grateful and admiring nation. In the environs of the capital the two monarchs met, and then field-sports and tournaments exhilarated their mornings, magnificent festivities beguiled their evening hours, until the enmity of former years appeared to have left not even a trace behind. The Duchess of Estampes, whose fascinations had enslaved the heart of Francis, was, indeed, observed to view the imperial stranger with distrust

[z] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 419.

and aversion. The address of Charles overcame this impediment. From his finger he let fall one day, as if by accident, a splendid diamond ring. The hostile fair one raised it from the floor, and with just encomiums upon the size and brilliance of the gem, offered it to the Emperor. He, however, courteously entreated of the Duchess to retain the magnificent trifle as a memorial of his friendship for her. The judicious compliment took full effect; and Charles withdrew into his own dominions under a conviction that the domestic circle of his ancient foe might be considered for a while, at all events, as completely in his interest[a].

The balance of power upon the Continent being thus to all appearance destroyed, it was evident that England ought not to hazard a rupture with the German confederates. Henry became mournfully sensible of this, and finding it difficult to dismiss his unwelcome bride, he blamed all those who had been instrumental in bringing her over. Cromwell, in order to divert censure from himself, said, that the Earl of Southampton should have detained Anne at Calais, when he saw that her pretensions to beauty fell so short of the expectations entertained respecting it. But the peer reasonably urged in his defence, that being commissioned only to conduct the lady into England, he could not venture upon his own responsibility to delay her journey. Some of the royal

[a] Herbert, 220.

attendants reminded their disappointed master, that marriages contracted upon political grounds, and upon the reports of others, are among the disadvantages of the princely station. No topic, however, allayed the soreness of Henry's mortification, and he determined to agitate anew the contract, by which Anne had been once affianced to the young Prince of Lorrain [b].

But before this pretended difficulty could be discussed, it was necessary to conduct Anne to the place of her destination. In doing this, appearances were still carefully observed. When she arrived at Shooter's Hill, an immense concourse of spectators [c] had assembled; the King, attended by a splendid retinue, was in readiness to receive her; and his admiring subjects had little reason, from what met their eyes, to suspect their monarch's real sentiments towards his portly bride. When Anne again saw her spouse, she alighted from the chariot [d] in which she had hitherto travelled, and rode on horseback by his Majesty's side to Greenwich [e]. Between the park there, and Shooter's Hill, the trees and bushes had all been cleared away, for the purpose of opening

[b] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 421.

[c] "I assure you it was wondrous to behold, the number was so great." Halle.

[d] "Well carved and gilt, with the arms of her country curiously wrought, and covered with cloth of gold." Ibid.

[e] "Oh what a sight was this, to see so goodly a prince and so noble a king to ride with so fair a ladye of *so goodly a stature*, and of so womanly a countenance." Ibid.

an avenue for the passage of the gorgeous cavalcade. When, however, Anne had reached the palace, her gratifications were abruptly suspended. Instead of proceeding to solemnize the marriage, Henry demanded of the Clevese ambassadors whether they had brought over with them any satisfactory release of their princess from her engagement with the young Lorrainer. To this they answered, that the matrimonial treaty referred to had been formally annulled; that the instrument by which this was done had been regularly registered in the chancery at Cleves, and that a copy of it should be sent to England, for the King's satisfaction, within three months. The privy council was then assembled, and some of its members, aware of the King's anxiety to rid himself of his new connexion, argued, that the contract with the Prince of Lorrain was a sufficient reason to invalidate the projected marriage. But Cranmer and Tunstall concurred in declaring, that a mere promise of marriage made by the parents of two minors in their behalf, and subsequently revoked, could not preclude the parties so affianced from forming a future engagement. And when the King's delicacy was urged, it was said that his Majesty might safely lay aside his scruples, if Anne would make a solemn protest, that during the agitation of the Lorrain match, she had not pledged herself beyond the point which her brother's ambassadors admitted. The required protest was made without hesitation, and Henry then sorrowfully observed to Cromwell, "There is no

remedy now; I *must* put my neck into the yoke[f]." On the next day, being the Epiphany, Cranmer married the royal couple in the great gallery at Greenwich[g]; but although the King was driven into taking this step, his repugnance for the bride continued unabated, and he probably did not cease to cherish a hope, that the ceremony in which he had consented to take a part, might even yet be stripped of its validity.

While Henry was brooding over his marriage in sullen discontent, he had the mortification to learn that this great personal sacrifice was not even necessary upon the principle of political expediency. As might have been expected, the friendship between Francis and the Emperor proved of very short duration. After Charles had retired into his own dominions, he appeared to forget the splendid festivities of Paris, and the generous openness of his ancient rival. His habitual duplicity and selfishness again swayed his counsels; nor did he appear intent upon any thing so much as upon eluding the fulfilment of such expectations as he had felt obliged to encourage when about to enter France. Probably, indeed, the high-minded attentions of Francis would have failed in eliciting any concession from his

[f] Herbert, 222.

[g] On the wedding ring was the following inscription: "*God* send me well to keepe." After the ceremony a mass was celebrated; then wine and spices were handed about, and a grand entertainment followed. Halle.

cautious and calculating guest, had not the latter been anxious to conciliate a neighbour capable of rendering effectual aid to the turbulent Ghentese. But the presence of their sovereign soon quelled the commotion among these factious citizens, and then the Imperial cabinet immediately resumed its old avocation, that of endeavouring to consolidate the Austrian greatness by depressing the power of France. Charles had given to his royal host reason for believing that he would grant to his son, the Duke of Orleans, the investiture of the Duchy of Milan. This engagement he now sought to evade, by annexing to its performance such stipulations as the French cabinet felt unable to admit; and at length he flatly said, that he could not make up his mind to surrender a territory which formed the communication between Spain and Germany. Vexed as Francis was at this new proof of the Emperor's disingenuousness, he soon had also to complain that his confidence was abused. The wily Austrian made friendly overtures to Henry, in which he informed him that, in recent conferences, his imagined friend the French King had disclosed some of his more secret communications.* The English monarch was disgusted on hearing of his ally's indiscretion, and with his usual precipitancy he became willing to league himself with the Emperor. Their sovereign's angry feelings were gladly encouraged by the leading English Romanists, who saw that, if England and Austria were firmly united, all

connexion with the German Protestants must be broken off, and the reforming party at home would be reduced to insignificance [h].

The influence of this party was, indeed, considerably impaired by means of the King's ill-assorted marriage. Cromwell would not allow himself to think that, in the end, this connexion would prove unsatisfactory. He rather hoped that time would allay the irritation of Henry's mind, and that the Queen's good-humoured attentions would succeed in gaining upon her consort's affections. He therefore advised her to bear with patience her unexpected mortification, and to requite neglect by kindness and civility. Anne readily adopted this prudent and amiable line of conduct; but she thereby rather increased the aversion of Henry, who would have been better pleased to see his slighted wife manifesting such a spirit as might afford some colourable pretext for her dismissal. Nor, as Cromwell was known to be the Queen's adviser, did he escape a share of his master's displeasure. The Romish party eagerly fomented Henry's growing alienation from his minister. It was not, however, easy to dispense at once with the services of so valuable an officer; nor is it likely that the King was without a feeling of respect for one who had carried through so many measures of importance. Besides, financial difficulties now rendered it necessary to call a new Parliament, and the experience of recent years

[h] Herbert, 221.

had shewn that Cromwell's talents for business were of no common order. As a minister, indeed, the Vicar-general still appeared to be highly appreciated by his sovereign. The legislature met on the 12th of April, and two days after Cromwell was raised to the earldom of Essex. Henry Bourchier, who had lately borne that title, had been killed by a fall from his horse, and his dignity had become extinct from the default of heirs male[1]. Great, however, was the disgust of the ancient families when they saw this peerage revived in Cromwell's favour. Already had he received the Garter, an honour usually confined to persons of the highest blood; and he was besides created Lord Great Chamberlain, an office long hereditary in the family of the De Veres, Earls of Oxford. These distinctions filled up the measure of the minister's unpopularity with all those who, tacitly claiming opulence and aristocratic honours as their hereditary right, seldom fail to hate and envy every man who has attained these advantages by the mere force of his personal merit. The Romanists of every class naturally detested one whose services had been constantly directed to the humiliation of their sect. Even the Reformers were rather dissatisfied with the minister, because he had not prevented the Six Articles from receiving the legislative sanction; but either from inability to serve them, or from lukewarmness in

[1] "The King gave Cromwell not only his title, but all that fell to the crown, by his dying without heirs." Burnet, Hist. Ref. III. 210.

their cause, he had exposed all the friends of scriptural Christianity to the danger of a sanguinary persecution.

It was while this formidable mass of hostility was struggling for a vent, that the envied statesman again made his appearance in Parliament. The session was opened by Audley, the Chancellor, who explained to the two Houses the reasons which had induced his Majesty to call them together. After this address Cromwell rose, and declared to the Lords, that the King felt much concerned to remark the distracted state of his subjects upon religious matters. "It had been hoped," he said, "that the privilege now conceded to all classes, of consulting God's word in their own tongue, would have terminated these unbecoming dissensions; but so far was this reasonable expectation from being realised, that each of the contending parties appealed to Scripture as the warrant for its own intolerance. Thus opprobrious appellations had driven away even the appearance of Christian charity, and pious observers were compelled to admit that the sovereign's paternal care had proved the means of sowing discord among his people. The opposite party was branded by one side as popish, by the other as heretical. In these contentions the King was asserted to be absolutely neuter, and to be solicitous for the preponderance of no particular sect, but only for the spiritual benefit of his subjects. For the sake of securing this important object, it was moved, by his Majesty's command, that two

committees be appointed, one charged with preparing such a summary of religious knowledge as might satisfy all reasonable expectations; the other, with examining the utility and significancy of existing ceremonies[k]. The House was then informed, that when these divines should have published the result of their enquiries, obedience to the principles laid down would be strictly exacted from all men; and the speech was concluded with a glowing panegyric upon the sovereign, whose qualities were described as such that it was difficult to do them justice. The royal recommendation was immediately adopted, and the two committees, who were nominated by his Majesty, were ordered to devote the whole of three days in every week, and the half of the other three, to the performance of their respective tasks.

On the 22d of April a bill was brought into the House for the suppression of the last lingering remnant of English monachism. The Hospitallers, or Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, had steadily refused to dissolve their community; but it was determined, fairly enough, that their order should not escape the ruin which had overtaken

[k] The first committee was to consist of the two Archbishops, the Bishops of London, Durham, Winchester, Rochester, Hereford, and St. David's; with the Doctors Thirleby, Robertson, Cox, Day, Oglethorpe, Redmayne, Edgeworth, Crayford, Symonds, Robins, and Tresham. The second committee was to consist of the Bishops of Bath and Wells, Ely, Sarum, Chichester, Worcester, and Landaff. Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 424.

so many cognate establishments. Of these half-military, half-monkish devotees, societies were originally formed during the fever of the Crusades; when a pilgrimage to Jerusalem was the consummation of a fanatic's hopes, and when Mahometan intolerance invested that undertaking with formidable inconveniences. In order to protect and succour misguided Christians in their visits to the scene of human redemption, the Templars and the Hospitallers obtained papal grants of incorporation. The first-named order soon acquired great opulence, and, as it was said, its members were usually polluted by the most revolting immoralities; causes which had led to its early suppression. The Hospitallers too were possessed of wealthy establishments in the regions of western Europe. During more than two centuries their head-quarters had been fixed at Rhodes, where their grand master exercised the functions of sovereignty, and where they continued to offer some protection to those deluded men who fancied that spiritual benefits were likely to flow from a toilsome peregrination amidst plundering and deriding infidels. The ambitious and enterprising Solyman felt it, however, neither creditable nor politic to endure a petty community of hostile warriors in the very heart of his dominions. He invested Rhodes with an overwhelming force, and, after one of the bravest resistances upon record, succeeded in subjecting the isle to the Ottoman yoke. The knights who had escaped from being buried under the ruins of

their fortresses, applied to the Emperor for relief, and Charles conferred upon them the barren rock of Malta, where they were now intent upon repairing their shattered fortunes. Of this celebrated order many individuals remained in the countries which gave them birth, and enjoyed their ample revenues among the people from whose industry they were derived. In England their Lord Prior sat in Parliament, and was ranked immediately after the abbots, and before the lay barons. Sir William Weston was now Lord Prior, and to his authority was subjected, as brothers of the order, a body of gentlemen connected with the most respectable families. But no influence was sufficient to preserve the English hospitallers in a corporate capacity. They were said, truly enough, to be dependent upon the Pope and the Emperor; a consideration sufficient to justify their suppression. They were, however, treated with great liberality. To Sir William Weston was secured, by act of Parliament, an annual pension of one thousand pounds[1]; to the Irish prior a pension of five hundred marks; and to the knights very handsome provisions. Nearly three thousand pounds

[1] The MS. historian of the Reformation (Bibl. Harl.) says, that "Sir William Weston never received a penny of his pension, but shortly after died of grief and *want*." The truth seems to be, that Weston died before the first instalment of his pension became due. Fuller informs us, "that Weston died on the day following that which saw the dissolution of his house, soul-smitten with sorrow, gold, though a great cordial, not being able to cure a broken heart."

of yearly rent were thus apportioned to these gentlemen [m].

Such heavy incumbrances rendered this, like many former surrenders of conventual estates, but little available for the present purposes of the crown; and Cromwell was necessitated to undertake the odious task of imposing burthens upon the people. From the Convocation he obtained a grant of four shillings in the pound, to be levied upon ecclesiastical property in the course of two years. From the House of Commons he obtained a subsidy of a tenth, and of a fifteenth. But although he managed so as to carry these motions, it was not without great murmuring and difficulty [n]. The popular representatives loudly complained of such demands at a time when the nation was at peace. However, their remonstrances were answered by pompous statements of the vast sums recently expended upon fortifications and harbours, for the security and benefit of the people; so that, after much debate, the reluctance of the House yielded to the influence of the court, and the people learnt with disgust and dismay, that their representatives had invested the tax-gatherer with an authority to knock at every man's door upon his unwelcome errand.

Taxation is always injurious to the popularity of a minister, and it proved the immediate occasion of Cromwell's fall. The burst of dissatisfac-

[m] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 426.

[n] Herbert, 222.

tion elicited by the recent proceedings in Parliament was not long unknown to the King, who readily allowed the Duke of Norfolk to insinuate, that such a mass of discontent could never prevail under his wise and beneficent rule, unless there was something materially wrong in the conduct of his most confidential servant[o]. Norfolk at this time stood unusually high in his sovereign's favour. The weakest part of Henry's character was his excessive susceptibility to female blandishments; a littleness of which the Romish party were now intent upon taking advantage. It had been observed that the King was far from insensible to the charms of Catharine, daughter to Lord Edmund Howard, and niece to the Duke of Norfolk. This young lady did not possess the qualification lately deemed indispensable in one who was to share the throne; for her figure was diminutive[p]; but the tall princess arrived from Cleves had so completely failed to give satisfaction, that, probably, his Majesty had become reconciled to beauties upon a smaller scale. In order to fan the rising flame, Gardiner invited the King to an entertainment at Winchester House. Catharine Howard was among the company assembled upon this occasion, and she then achieved the conquest of her amorous sovereign's heart[q].

[o] Rapin, I. 825.

[p] She is styled *parvissima puella*, in a letter cited by Burnet, (Hist. Ref. III. 216.) written by Richard Hill, a Protestant Englishman, who fled at that time to the continent.

[q] Ibid. 210.

In vain did Anne of Cleves ply her English studies with assiduity and success: her royal spouse no longer regretted his inability to hold converse with her. Kindness and forbearance on her part made no impression on him: he was convinced that his marriage with her was invalid. In vain did Cromwell cheerfully undergo the labour and the odium of meeting the difficulties with which the government had to struggle: the minister had brought the Queen to England, and had thereby lost his master's confidence. His personal enemy, the Duke of Norfolk, the head of a party whispering something about a divorce, and the uncle of her whose charms were now deemed worthy of a throne, had acquired a paramount influence in the royal councils.

On the 13th of June, Cromwell, unconscious of what awaited him, attended a meeting of the privy council. The Duke of Norfolk was also present, and he preferred against the unfortunate minister a charge of high treason. The well-known hostility of Norfolk, and his near connexion with the new object of the King's affections, would not allow the accused to doubt, that his ruin was inevitable. He sorrowfully yielded to his fate, and was conducted prisoner to the Tower. A base and unfeeling rabble, such as forms the dregs of all large communities, was found eager upon this, as upon other occasions, to vent its cowardly insolence at the sight of fallen greatness. Acclamations rent the air as the minister, lately so much

envied, passed onward to his dreary prison[r]; and in the evening gay supper-parties among some of the more violent Romanists[s], attested the exultation of their sect. At this period it would be found embarrassing to those who should be desirous of removing an obnoxious person out of their way, that no clear or serious charges could be substantiated against their intended victim. However, unhappily for Cromwell, he had himself put in practice a mode of obviating such a difficulty. The family and connexions of Cardinal Pole had been condemned, not after an open trial, but by an act of attainder. A similar course[t] was now

[r] Herbert, 223.

[s] Halle: who says, besides that, many people expressed their regret that the minister had not been disgraced seven years before. The following extract from the MS. Hist. Ref. (Bibl. Harl.) will serve to shew the inveterate hostility of the Romish party towards the Vicar-general: "Thomas Cromwell, a base born fellow, and an *ugly imp*, bred under the proud Cardinal, to a mighty mischief both to Church and commonwealth."

[t] "A most iniquitous measure, but of which he had no right to complain, as he had been the first to employ it against others." (Lingard.) It should, however, be observed, that the attainder of Cromwell, and that of Pole's associates, rest upon very different grounds. The former rests upon acts of mere indiscretion, and of venality, then common, perhaps universal, among public officers: the latter, upon a correspondence with a man who was notoriously plotting abroad against his native sovereign. It is obvious, that such a correspondence cannot be safely tolerated by any government; nor, if the existing law be insufficient to reach persons thus treasonably engaged, is it reasonable to condemn ministers who endeavour to preserve the public tranquillity by extraordinary, and, under common circumstances, excep-

adopted to take away the life of the disgraced minister. A bill of attainder was brought into the Upper House on the 17th of June[u], by which it was proposed to condemn the ruined favourite as guilty of heresy and treason. Among the Lords, this bill appears to have encountered little or no opposition. It was read the first time on the day in which it was presented; on the 19th of the same month, it was read the second and third times. The Commons were not so expeditious: after a delay of ten days, they sent back another bill; which, however, was found sufficiently satisfactory, as it received the royal assent on the same day. The crimes objected to the condemned were, that "he, being raised by the King from obscurity to honour, had proved a most corrupt traitor; that he had, of his own authority, released persons in custody for misprision of treason; that he had accepted bribes; had said, base-born as he

tionable measures of severity. The revolutionary madness of recent times has been considered to justify suspensions of the Habeas Corpus act: and party spirit at the period of the Reformation was scarcely less violent than it has been in our own day. Perhaps the fault of Henry's government, in its treatment of Pole's connexions, did not lie in using towards them a rigour beyond the law, but in visiting, with extreme penalties, strong presumptions only, or offences which might hardly amount to high treason. Cromwell's case was different from this: the capital charge against him was vague, and in fact baseless; while the crimes of which he appears to have been really guilty, were such as not to affect life, unless under an eastern despotism.

[u] "Cranmer being absent that day, as appears by the journal." Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 429.

was, that he was sure of the King; that he had granted passports without enquiry; that he had dispersed and commended heretical books, encouraged heretical preachers, induced some of the sheriffs to discharge individuals suspected of heresy, and discountenanced informations against heretics; that he had said, that if the King should alter his religious sentiments, yet would not he; that he was willing to fight for his religion; and that he hoped the events of another year or two would put it out of his Majesty's power to reinstate the old order of things in the Church; that having accumulated a large fortune by oppression and bribery, he had treated the nobility with much contempt; and that, when once reminded of his origin, he had threatened to give his lordly monitors such a breakfast, unless they desisted from their reflections, as was never seen in England[x]." The charges against the Vicar-general, therefore, amount to these: that he was a traitor; that he had taken bribes; that he had befriended the Reformation, and prevented the Romanists from establishing an inquisition under the act of Six Articles; that he had been indiscreet in talking of the King; and that, when insulted by certain of the nobility, he had condescended to retaliate[y]. The bulk of such accusations serve only

[x] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 430.

[y] Dr. Lingard informs us, "among his (Cromwell's) papers, had been found his clandestine correspondence with the Princes of Germany: the King would listen to no plea in favour of a man who had betrayed his confidence to strangers." This statement,

to betray the malice of those who prefer them: in two instances, however, Cromwell appears to have merited some degree of censure, if not of punishment. His conduct towards the Reformers, though politic and Christian-like, was probably not strictly legal; and his acceptance of bribes, though too usual at that period, was a fault which, if fairly substantiated, ought not to have been overlooked. His transgressions in these two respects, are perhaps sufficient to vindicate the Legislature from the charge of unprincipled subserviency to the crown; but they are certainly not sufficient to justify the infliction of death and forfeiture; nor are they such as to clear the memory of those who contrived his ruin, from the imputation of malice and cruelty.

Deserted, however, as was the fallen minister by that throng of interested sycophants, who are ever on the watch to gain, by flattering the great, those benefits which they feel to be unattainable

however, rather insinuates than establishes the guilt of Cromwell; for even if it was discovered that he had been too free in his correspondence with the Germans, it does not follow, and indeed it is not likely, that he betrayed to them any secrets of importance. Hume says, "the proofs of his treasonable practices are utterly improbable, and even absolutely ridiculous." Nor does this view of the case appear such as the facts do not warrant. The same historian ascribes Cromwell's fall to the Duke of Norfolk's machinations, conducted through his niece, Catharine Howard. He says, "the Duke, who had long been engaged in enmity with Cromwell, made the same use of her insinuations to ruin this minister, that he had formerly done of Anne Boleyn's against Wolsey."

by any merits of their own, disclaimed by the prince, whose prodigal indulgence, lately at its height, seemed now to mock his calamity, insulted by the display of that degeneracy in the human heart which converts individual misfortune into matter for general exultation; there was yet one among his former associates who possessed the virtue and the courage to shew himself his friend. On the day following that in which Cromwell had been arrested, Cranmer endeavoured, by letter, to revive in the King's mind a recollection of his late favourite's able and zealous services. He wrote[z] in the following words: "Although I heard yesterday in your Grace's council, that the Earl of Essex is a traitor, yet who cannot be sorrowful and amazed that he should be a traitor against your Majesty? He that was so advanced by your Majesty; he whose surety was only by your Majesty; he who loved your Majesty, as I always thought, no less than God; he who studied

[z] "A letter penned with his usual timidity and caution." (Lingard.) The latter quality certainly became the Archbishop's station; as for the former, it would have rather been discovered if no letter at all had been written, or if one had been written treating the guilt of the accused as highly probable, or if his services had been undervalued, and his cause immediately deserted. Cranmer's conduct, however, was the reverse of all this; and although, according to Dr. Lingard, the Archbishop at length "deemed it prudent to go with the stream, and on the second and third readings gave his vote in favour of the attainder;" can his conduct be fairly imputed to any other cause than an honest conviction, that Cromwell, even if hardly used, had certainly exceeded his powers, and perhaps acted corruptly in certain cases.

always to set forward whatsoever was your Majesty's will and pleasure; he that cared for no man's displeasure to serve your Majesty; he that was such a servant, in my judgment, in wisdom, diligence, faithfulness, and experience, as no prince in this realm ever had; he that was so vigilant to preserve your Majesty from all treasons, that few could be so secretly conceived, but that he detected the same in the beginning. If the noble princes of memory, King John, Henry II. and Richard II. had possessed such a counsellor, I suppose that they should never have been so traitorously abandoned and overthrown, as those good princes were. This able and zealous servant of your Majesty I loved as my friend, for such I took him to be; but I chiefly loved him for the love which, I thought, I saw him ever bear towards your Grace, singularly above all others. But now, if he be a traitor, I am sorry that I ever loved him, or trusted him; and I am very glad that his treason is discovered in time: but yet again, I am very sorrowful; for who should your Grace trust hereafter, if you might not trust him? Alas! I bewail and lament your Grace's chance herein; I wot not whom your Grace may trust. But I pray God continually, night and day, to send such a counsellor in his place, whom your Grace may trust, and who, for all his qualities, can and will serve your Grace like to him, and that will have so much solicitude and care to preserve your Grace from all dangers as I ever thought he

had[a]." If the King had been accessible at that time to sentiments of reason, equity, or mercy, this letter would have made him hesitate before he finally determined upon the destruction of his able, assiduous, and devoted minister. But Henry was now bent upon the gratification of his own lust and caprice; he was entangled in the toils of a keen-sighted and implacable faction; probably his vanity was piqued by a discovery of the liberties which Cromwell had taken with his name; he could scarcely hope to gratify either his own inclinations, or those of his new favourites, without the sacrifice of his prisoner; and therefore to that injustice his views were immovably directed.

As, however, Henry's impatience under his matrimonial connexion, was the pivot upon which his resolutions turned, the party which had gained his confidence were fully sensible, that despatch in the gratification of his wishes afforded them the only reasonable hope of retaining their ascendancy. They accordingly hastened to release him from the consort who had proved so distasteful to him. But as no very reasonable grounds could be alleged for a proceeding which bore upon the face of it unequivocal marks of inconstancy and injustice, it was desirable to effect, if possible, the meditated arrangements without encountering any opposition from those most interested in them. For this purpose John Clark, Bishop of

[a] Herbert, 223.

Bath and Wells, was despatched, towards the end of June, on a mission to the Emperor, and the Duke of Cleves. Charles was then at Bruges, where he received with sincere satisfaction the intelligence of Henry's intention to take a step likely to embroil him with the German princes. The court of Cleves was not likely to find Bishop Clark's message quite so pleasant, and therefore his instructions embraced many particulars. He was to inform the Duke, that his Majesty had never consented heartily to his marriage with the Lady Anne, since he had heard of her pre-contract with the Prince of Lorrain; that, in consequence, he had never consummated the marriage, and never would; that he entertained, besides, other objections to the lady, of a secret nature, some of which affected her honour, and which he would have forborne to mention, had not the urgency of the case extorted plainness from him; that, notwithstanding, he would engage to restore her jewels, to send her back to her own country with a handsome provision, and to continue his friendship to her family. If these representations should be found to fail in obtaining the Duke's consent to his sister's dishonour, the ambassador was instructed to urge, that opposition would be vain, as the whole matter had been maturely considered, and neither the King nor the people of England would rest satisfied until justice should be done. However, before the Bishop reached Cleves, he received new instructions [b], by which he was

[b] Dated July 8. Herbert, 223.

directed to insist only upon the Lorrain pre-contract; it having been determined to convince the Duke by acts, instead of attempting to do so by words. A farce was accordingly got up in Parliament, which completely answered the end proposed. A member of the Upper House rose to express his regret at seeing his Majesty shackled by a connexion with a princess, who had been affianced to another; and, after pathetically lamenting the dishonour thus brought both upon the sovereign and the country, he moved that his Majesty be petitioned to refer his painful case to the ecclesiastical authorities. Their Lordships readily concurred in the noble mover's views; the Commons proved equally alive to the King's and the nation's dishonour; an address from both Houses was carried to the foot of the throne, in which his Highness was apprized of his people's kind solicitude, was requested to abstain for the present from the Queen's society, and to make arrangements for the examination of his recent marriage. Nothing could be more graciously received than this loyal and dutiful address. The petitions preferred were granted without the least hesitation, and the members were dismissed from the royal presence with an assurance, that, on the following Thursday, a communication should be made to Parliament according to their wishes[c].

In the mean time it was thought desirable to acquaint Anne with the situation in which she

[c] Herbert, 223.

was now placed. The neglect which she had constantly experienced from the King, had probably at last rather affected her spirits, as it was recommended that she should change the air; and Richmond was the royal residence to which she was removed. At this place the Duke of Suffolk, the Earl of Southampton, and Sir Thomas Wriothesley, were commanded to wait upon her, and endeavour to obtain her acquiescence in the arrangements by which it was intended to dispose of her case. However mortified Anne might have been by her husband's neglect, she seems never to have suspected that her queenship was in jeopardy; and, accordingly, when she learnt this humiliating fact, her apathy or equanimity forsook her, and she fainted. After her recovery arguments were employed to shew the inutility of resistance to her fate, and she made up her mind with admirable resignation to the new disappointment which had overtaken her. It was proposed to her, that the consideration of her marriage should be referred to the ecclesiastical authorities; and that, while the suit was pending, waiving the style and title of Queen, she should be considered as the king's adopted sister, and be supplied with a liberal allowance. To these strange proposals she yielded an easy assent; but when they were followed by a request that she should write to her brother assurances that she was perfectly satisfied with the state of her affairs, she found some difficulty in carrying her complaisance to such a height. At length, however, her

repugnance was overcome, and this perfect model of phlegmatic endurance despatched a letter to her brother, in which he was informed, that her marriage had never been consummated, but that her treatment was equitable and satisfactory. No time was lost in acting upon her compliance. The establishment assigned to her as queen, was immediately dismissed, and her household was remodelled upon a scale suited to the junior members of the royal family [d].

The King's marriage was then submitted to the Convocation [e]. Gardiner expatiated, in an eloquent harangue, upon the causes assigned by his Majesty for desiring the interference of his clergy; and, in consequence, a committee, consisting of the two Archbishops, the Bishops of London, Durham, Winchester, and Worcester, with seven individuals of inferior rank, was appointed to receive and report upon the evidence to be adduced [f]. This appears to have consisted in, a written declaration from the King himself [g], a letter addressed to him by Cromwell, from the Tower [h], and sundry depositions of privy counsellors, physicians, and ladies, who had conversed with the Queen. After weighing the information derived from these various sources, the committee

[d] Herbert, 224.

[e] By a royal letter missive, read July 5. Strype, Eccl. Mem. I. 552.

[f] Ibid.

[g] See Burnet, Hist. Ref. Records, I. 287.

[h] Ibid. 281.

decided, that the Lorrain pre-contract had not been satisfactorily explained; that his Majesty had not given an inward, pure, perfect, and entire consent to the marriage; that he had never consummated it, and never could, by reason of a just impediment[i]; that it would be for the public benefit, if he were allowed to marry again; and that there were other causes and considerations, not necessary to be recited[k], why the existing marriage should be dissolved. These grounds, which in fact resolve themselves into the King's repugnance for his spouse, and the consequent hopelessness of an augmentation to the royal family, were deemed by the Convocation sufficient to in-

[i] Probably his aversion arising from the absurd and ungenerous suspicions which he had chosen to entertain of Anne's previous chastity.

[k] Stow informs us, that the King accused Anne of "sundry secret ill qualities;" that he consulted his physicians, and took medicine, and yet was unable to accomplish his object. Hence it is evident, that although later writers have considered the treatment of this case as a condemnation of what was said in the case of Prince Arthur, the canonists of the day took a different view of the two. In the latter it was indeed said, that a marriage solemnized, though not consummated, was valid. In the former it was evidently pleaded, that consummation was physically impossible: the grounds of such impossibility were probably such as would not have been admitted in the case of any private individual; but in that of a sovereign, who had no child except an infant boy, and two daughters of doubtful legitimacy, it might be deemed advisable to grant an indulgence which would be evidently unwarrantable under any other circumstances. These observations may perhaps furnish a clue to the principles upon which the Convocation acted; they will not, however, go to the length of completely justifying that body.

validate the marriage under consideration; and upon them it was pronounced null and void by the unanimous vote of the assembled divines. This sentence was immediately confirmed by act of Parliament, a decision which the Legislature effectually guarded from controversy, by voting afterwards, that whosoever should affirm or believe the Convocation to have acted erroneously in this particular, was to incur the penalties of high treason[l].

The particulars of these transactions were transmitted to the Duke of Cleves, whose feelings were so strongly excited by the relation, that he could not refrain from tears. It was, however, some alleviation of his grief, to learn from his sister's letter, that her marriage had never been consummated, that she was subjected to no ill usage, and that a liberal provision was made for her support. Finding, therefore, that there was no hope of averting the unexpected mortification, since Anne's marriage had been solemnly annulled, the Duke did not think it advisable to provoke Henry's enmity by any remonstrances. Still he refused to admit the justice of what was done; and Bishop Clark at length returned home with a report, that the Duke was only so far satisfied with his sister's treatment, as to allow that she might have fared worse[m]. Anne herself shewed, that she was not insensible of the indignity to which she had been subjected, by declining to return into her own

[l] Herbert, 224.

[m] Ibid.

country. She spent the remainder of her days in England, in quiet enjoyment of the rank and revenues assigned to her[n].

Notwithstanding that a pre-contract had been so lately assigned as an objection to the validity of Anne's marriage, an act was passed by the present Parliament, which obliquely censured such a ground of nullity. This statute recites, that pre-contracts, though admitted in the time of Popery, as sufficient to ground proceedings for the nullity of a marriage, should not henceforth be pleaded with any such view, after consummation. What was the precise object of such a clause, it is difficult to conjecture rationally, unless the King then entertained a notion of legitimating the Lady Elizabeth, whose unhappy mother had been disturbed towards the close of her chequered life by the agitation of an engagement which she had formerly made with the Earl of Northumberland.

[n] The King "restored her all her jewels, assigned her precedencie above all English, save his own, that should be, queen and children, graced her with a new-devised style of *his adopted sister*, (by which from henceforward he saluted her in his letters, and she in answer subscribed herself,) allotted her Richmond house for her retirement.—She returned no more into her own countrey; but living, and dying anno 1557, in England, was buried in Westminster church at the head of King Sebert, in a tomb not yet finished; none other of King Henry's wives having any, and she but half a monument." (Fuller, 230.) The income settled upon her was three thousand pounds a year. (Collier, II. 178.) Anne was therefore, considering the times, magnificently provided for, a circumstance which, no doubt, tended to reconcile both herself and her family to the bitter pill which she was compelled to swallow.

Of another clause in the statute, the intention is sufficiently intelligible. It was enacted, that no degree of kindred not mentioned in God's law, should be pleaded as a ground for the annulling of a marriage. This clause removed all doubt as to the legality of a marriage between the King and Catharine Howard; who, being cousin-german to Anne Boleyn, might not be taken by Henry as a wife, according to the papal canons, although she might without infringing the law of God[o].

This Parliament also found itself called upon to legislate for the obviating of a difficulty, which had arisen out of the dissolution of monasteries. Those who had become possessed of tythe-estates, formerly conventual property, met with considerable obstructions in the collection of their dues; for as people are commonly ingenious in devising reasons why they should resist demands upon them, it was now confidently maintained, that tythes, having been appropriated to the Church, could not be legally claimed by a layman. To provide a remedy for the injuries sustained by lay tythe-holders from the maintenance of this principle, it was found that the ecclesiastical courts were incompetent. It was therefore enacted at this time, that "every person shall set out and pay his tythes according to the custom of the parish where they are due; that offenders against this provision shall be convented before the ordinary, and the cause tried in the ecclesiastical

[o] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 437.

courts; that in case either of the parties shall appeal from the judgment of the spiritual court, the appellant shall pay costs to the other party; and that those persons who shall refuse to pay their tythes according to the award above mentioned, shall be bound by two justices of the peace to obey the ordinary's sentence[p]." This act, although not intended for the particular benefit of the clergy, has proved advantageous to all the possessors of tythe-estates. It has added the authority of a statute to the venerable provisions of the common law; it has recognized the tythe as a distinct species of property not bought or inherited together with the lands from which it arises; and it has afforded to the holders of such property additional facilities for the recovery of its proceeds.

Cromwell's disgrace encouraged the Romish clergy to hope that they might obtain some relief from the severity with which the incontinence of priests was liable to be visited under the act of six articles. It never could be the intention of men zealous for a religion, of which the reigning Pope was generally considered the visible head, to insert concubinage in a catalogue of capital felonies. But the Vicar-general, it is believed[q], certainly some one of his friends, had suggested that those who thought marriage, which Scripture

[p] Collier, II. 179.

[q] Foxe. Burnet plainly says of this clause, it "was put in by Cromwell."

has declared "honourable among *all* men[r]," to be worthy of the gallows if contracted by a priest, could not surely object to visit with the same severity that class of grievous sinners whom the Apostle assures us, "God will judge[s]." The argument was irresistible, and the sticklers for pretended sacerdotal purity were shamed into acquiescence. Now, however, the Romish bigots had good hopes of rendering their act a truly effective instrument of conversion, and therefore those whose services were likely to be put into requisition by the change of counsels, thought themselves entitled to some indulgence. A petition, accordingly, was presented to the legislature[t], complaining of the hardships under which married and profligate clergymen laboured. The result was, that although a man who should deny a petty piece of bakers' work to be the Deity himself, was still liable to be burnt; one who, knowing the facts, should assert the sacramental cup to be every communicant's right; vows of chastity to be nowhere mentioned in Scripture; gazing at a priest while he receives the Eucharist, or hiring him to receive it, to be mere folly and delusion; and a particular enumeration of his sins to a fellow-sinner, to be no Christian's bounden duty: while the assertion of these things still rendered a man liable to be hanged, the Parliament enacted,

[r] Heb. xiii. 4.

[s] Ibid.

[t] Herbert, 224. The bill to grant this relief was brought in on the 16th of July. Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 436.

that a minister of religion committing adultery, or living with a strumpet, was only to be punished with the loss of his goods and the sequestration of his benefice. To be sure, with admirable impartiality, clerical marriages were now subjected to no severer penalties.

Before the session was brought to a close, the attention of Parliament was called[u] to the discussions respecting the doctrines and ceremonies of the Church still pending among those who had been commissioned to investigate these subjects. The bill framed to meet this case passed rapidly through both Houses, and probably encountered no opposition. It provided, that "whatsoever should be determined by the bishops and divines now commissioned to declare the principal articles of the Christian faith, with the ceremonies to be observed in public worship; and published by the King's authority: should be believed and obeyed by all the King's subjects, as much as if all the particulars so set forth had been enumerated in this act, any custom or law to the contrary notwithstanding." Not contented with thus empowering the crown to impose, by its sole authority, doctrines and ceremonies upon the people, the legislature gave farther room for the exercise of the prerogative, by passing the act with the following clause, "that nothing should be done or determined by the authority of this act which was contrary to the laws and statutes of the king-

[u] On the 20th of July. Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 436.

dom." Thus, whenever the King should publish the expected articles and ritual, would an opportunity be given to his subjects to dispute the legality of the several particulars offered to them; an opportunity which could hardly fail of affording to the civil courts occasions of interfering in ecclesiastical questions, and, by means of its appellate jurisdiction, of augmenting the direct influence of the crown.

On the 24th of July the Parliament was dissolved; and four days afterwards was executed the iniquitous sentence which it had passed upon the unfortunate Cromwell. He had earnestly, not to say abjectly, intreated for the preservation of his life; but, in the estimation of the party now high in the royal favour, he had sinned past all forgiveness. The King's ears were closed, and his heart was steeled against the supplications of his once-valued and highly-meritorious minister. While he lived, his enemies could never be sure that the recollection of the past would not again put his able services into requisition. Nothing, therefore, was allowed to avert his fate. When the prisoner found that there was no hope of mercy for him on this side of the grave, he prepared to meet death with becoming firmness. He was led to a scaffold erected upon Tower Hill, from which, before he made himself ready for the fatal stroke, he briefly addressed the spectators. His speech has occasioned a good deal of animadversion. Feeling that he was a sinner, and a father, he abstained from making any lofty asser-

tions of his integrity, and from expressing any sentiments respecting his doom, likely, by offending the King, to prejudice his son. As to his religion, he declared that "he died in the Catholic faith, not doubting in any article of his faith, no, nor doubting in any sacrament of the Church." From these words many persons have concluded that he died a Romanist. But it should be remembered, that in those days Protestants had not learnt to feed the arrogance, and aid the sophistry of the Roman Church, by conceding to her, even in ordinary discourse, the exclusive title of Catholic. That term they applied to the whole body of Christians holding the genuine doctrines of the Gospel. Of these doctrines, both Romanists and Lutherans considered the corporal presence to be an integral part; and although they did not exactly agree in their notions of the Eucharist, they concurred in representing the Zuinglian exposition of this Sacrament as a pernicious heresy. From the imputation of being infected with this generally unpopular opinion, Cromwell appears to have desired that his memory should stand clear. He therefore, at the point of death, not only expressed his belief of those doctrines as to which nearly all Christians are agreed; but also of that view of the eucharistic controversy which the divines, upon whose judgment he relied, then considered to have prevailed in the Catholic Church even from the days of her holy Founder. That his religious sentiments, in the main, were not derived from papal Rome, must be inferred

from the character of his last devotions. He did not mumble *Aves* and *Pater-nosters*, he used no pantomimic crossings, nor did he stupidly call upon the dead for help. When he had finished his address to the spectators, he knelt down, and in his native tongue earnestly supplicated for acceptance with God only through the merits and mediation of Jesus Christ. His last prayers being concluded, he calmly resigned himself into the hands of the executioner, whose unskilful performance of his revolting task needlessly protracted the sufferer's mortal agony [x].

[x] Foxe, 1086.

CHAPTER X.

Barnes—Bishop Gardiner preaches at St. Paul's Cross—He is attacked by Dr. Barnes—Who is summoned to answer for his sermon before the King—Garret and Jerome also summoned—All three attainted—Burnt in Smithfield—Other martyrdoms—Prosecutions under the act of Six Articles—Catharine Howard acknowledged as Queen—Debates upon the compilation of articles of religion—The divines in commission write their opinions—Account of the articles—A new edition of the Bible published—Persecution at Calais—Restoration of the chapter of Canterbury to its ancient state—Archbishop Cranmer's liberal ideas respecting education—Loyola—The Jesuits established—Their particular occupation—Sumptuary laws imposed upon the clergy—Insurrection in the North, and execution of the Countess of Salisbury—The King determines upon a progress to York—Invites James V. of Scotland to an interview—Progress of the Reformation in Scotland—Loyalty displayed in the northern counties—The Queen's licentious conduct discovered—Disclosed to the King—Investigations in consequence—Confession of the Queen, and punishment of her paramours—Parliamentary attainders—Act to guard future royal marriages—Execution of the Queen.

No sooner did the Romish party feel that their influence was beginning to revive, than they prepared to repress by violent means the torrent of argument and ridicule by which their opinions were assailed. Among their enemies was one whose activity had rendered him highly obnoxious to them during a long series of years, and whose indiscretion now laid him open to their attacks. Robert Barnes had indeed shewn, by his forward-

ness in Lambert's case, that he was not likely to give much offence to the Romanists by his mode of treating the eucharistic controversy; but in other respects he was indefatigably employed in shaking the credit of the Papal Church. In early life he had studied at Louvain, from which university he removed to Cambridge, and was there appointed prior of the Austin friars. In his house he introduced the reading of Terence, Plautus, and Cicero, afterwards of St. Paul's Epistles; and thus the schoolmen sank into total contempt among the students under his direction. Sounder views of literature and theology led in his, as in most other cases at that period, to the adoption of Protestant principles. Bilney opened his eyes to the advantages of considering Scripture as the only fountain of religious truth, and henceforth Barnes devoted his talents to the dissemination of the opinions which he had drawn from the record of God's word. He had not long ranged himself among the Reformers, before he gave offence by delivering from the pulpit an invective against the gorgeous parade maintained by Cardinal Wolsey. In consequence of this unseemly attack he was apprehended, and sent up to London. Being there threatened with the stake, he was at length induced, by the persuasions of his friends, and by his own fears, to recant. For this purpose he and five men accused of Lollardy were conducted to St. Paul's, where Wolsey, with six-and-thirty members of the prelacy, came in grand state to absolve them, and

where an immense concourse of spectators saw faggots borne by the supposed heretics, which afterwards, together with some baskets full of books distasteful to the clergy, were committed in due form to the flames. However, this exhibition, from their presence at which, the idle and the bigoted spectators were informed by Bishop Fisher, the preacher, that they should obtain a pardon for the transgressions of a certain number of days, failed even to intimidate Barnes. Hence he was not allowed to recover his liberty; and after a confinement of several months, serious thoughts were entertained of burning him. A friend discovered this intention, and persuaded the prisoner to escape, after leaving upon his table a letter, stating, that he had withdrawn from custody for the purpose of terminating his misery by drowning himself. This feint was completely successful. All the waters round Northampton, the place of his confinement, were dragged, whilst he, disguised as a peasant, was uninterruptedly pursuing his journey to London. From the metropolis he took ship for Antwerp, and from that city he proceeded into Saxony; where the delightful converse of Luther, Melancthon, and other revivers of recorded religious truth, cheered his spirits under the evils of exile. He now endeavoured to impress his own convictions upon the minds of his countrymen by the composition of controversial tracts; and he rapidly acquired the esteem and confidence of all who were labouring to withstand the oppressions of power, and to

dispel the mists of prejudice. While honourably employed in improving his talent under the protection of foreigners, an opportunity was afforded him of visiting his native land in the suite of a Danish embassy despatched to the English court. Upon this occasion Sir Thomas More, then Chancellor, would have apprehended him, but the King refused his consent to that proposal, and he returned to Germany with the Lubeckers whom the King of Denmark had employed. When Bishop Fox went as ambassador into Saxony, he found Barnes there, and strongly recommended him to Cromwell, by whom he was, in consequence, commissioned to transact some diplomatic business with the Smalcaldic league. The fear of persecution having subsided, he subsequently returned to England, where he lived under the Vicar-general's protection, until that minister sent him to Cleves, for the purpose of aiding in the conducting of a matrimonial treaty between the King and the Princess Anne. It will readily be supposed, that his share in this unfortunate business did not at all conciliate his sovereign in the favour of Barnes. Nor can it be doubted, that the leading Romanists were sufficiently exasperated against a man who had so perseveringly opposed their principles and thwarted their policy.

As Barnes was a celebrated preacher on the Protestant side, Bishop Boner thought that Cromwell would be pleased to hear of his being appointed to deliver one of the Lent sermons at St.

Paul's Cross. Accordingly, he was named for that employment on the first Sunday in the last Lent. Hearing of this appointment, Bishop Gardiner determined to try whether his own eloquence, which was considerable, could not counteract the effect of that doctrine which must be expected from Barnes. He therefore sent his chaplain to Boner, and requested one of the Lent turns for himself. An applicant so dignified was not to be refused, even by a calculator who had been served, and who hoped to be farther served, by the King's prime minister. Barnes was, accordingly, desired to reserve his sermon for another Sunday, and in his room the Bishop of Winchester mounted the pulpit at St. Paul's Cross. Led by the Gospel of the day, the preacher descanted upon our Lord's temptation. "The devil," he said, "upon that mysterious occasion, quoting the Psalmist's words[a], instigated Jesus to cast himself down forwards: now the great enemy of souls, though still citing Scripture, incites men to cast themselves backwards: he says, Go back from fasting, go back from praying, go back from confession, go back from penance. Formerly the devil, envying man the felicity of good works, contrived to have pardons brought from Rome, a kind of merchandize which was retailed by his agents the friars. But now that these traffickers and their trumpery are all clean got rid of, he hath raised up the new teachers,

[a] Psalm xci. 11, 12.

who tell you that there is no need of works; only believe, and live as merrily as you list, you will come to heaven at last."

On the third Sunday in Lent, Barnes preached at St. Paul's, and he devoted the opportunity to the exposing, in no decorous manner certainly, of Gardiner's misrepresentations. In a spirit of vulgar buffoonery, which nothing but the grossness of the age could justify, he compared his controversy with the Bishop to a cock-fight, in which, however, he said, "the *garden* cock lacked good spurs." He explained to the people that the Reformers were far from disparaging good works, although they denied them to be the meritorious cause of man's justification, and that the only works of which they really spoke with contempt, were pilgrimages, penances, masses, and other such delusive observances; pernicious weeds, which every *gardener* who knew his business would carefully root out of the Lord's vineyard.

When the Bishop found that his opponent, not contented with refuting his doctrine, had rendered him personally ridiculous; in the words of Foxe, "he was so tickled in the spleen," that he made a complaint to the King of the treatment which he had received. Henry summoned Barnes before him; and that divine, overawed by his sovereign's presence, and probably sensible of having seasoned his discourse with levities and personalities most unsuited to the pulpit, consented to submit himself to his Majesty's pleasure. "Nay," said the King; "submit not to me: yonder," turning

to the consecrated wafer-cake that was by, and doffing his bonnet, "is the Master of us all, and the Author of all truth. Yield in truth to him; that truth will I defend: otherwise yield not to me." The conclusion of this interview was, that Gardiner and Barnes were appointed to discuss their respective opinions before witnesses appointed for that purpose. Neither party, however, convinced his opponent; and therefore the King, at last, by way of terminating the strife, commanded that the doctor should preach one of the Spital sermons, and then publicly renounce such of his opinions as his adversaries deemed erroneous.

The same burthen was laid upon Garret, one of the city clergy, and upon Jerome, Vicar of Stepney. The first-named of these divines was an Oxford man, who had rendered himself notorious fourteen years before by distributing and selling Tyndale's Testament, with other such obnoxious books. These offences were visited in the customary manner, by imprisonment and bearing a faggot; punishments which imposed silence for a time, but generally rendered the suffering party more zealous for the dissemination of his opinions as soon as opportunity allowed him so to do. Such an opportunity being supplied by the change of counsels which ensued from the rise of Cranmer and Cromwell, Garret, Jerome, with many others, gladly exerted themselves to break those chains which worldly policy, aided by ignorance and imposture, had forged for the spiritual and intellectual degradation of western Europe. Jerome

and Garret were, probably, popular preachers, and Boner, not being yet enlightened by any presentiment of Cromwell's fall, thought them desirable occupants of the principal pulpit in the city during the last Lent. Unhappily, however, Gardiner had thrown down the apple of discord, and these preachers, like Dr. Barnes, considered themselves called upon to explain justification as nowise the result of Romish masses and mortifications, but only of the Saviour's merits. Imitating Barnes in their preaching, they received the same treatment as he; being examined before the privy council, and commanded to recant what they had said, in a Spital sermon after Easter. When, however, the time for this recantation arrived, all the three preachers completely justified the doctrine which they had previously taught; and thus the Romanists, instead of being pleased and flattered by the sermons which they went to hear, returned home inflamed with rage and disappointment [b].

The King having committed himself by taking a part in this affair, it was determined to imprison the offensive preachers in the Tower; and as their opinions could not easily be proved heretical even by Romanists, if publicly examined, it was deemed advisable to punish the three divines by means of a parliamentary attainder. When, however, it was proposed in the privy council to appease the irritated party by means of this iniquity, the Pro-

[b] Foxe, 1087.

testant counsellors appear to have strenuously opposed the motion, and to have urged, by way of counterpoise, that there were individuals of very different opinions, who had insulted, and even endeavoured to injure, his Majesty[c]. There were Powell and Abel, two political pamphleteers on the Queen's side during the ferment occasioned by Catharine of Aragon's case[d], who, together with another Romish partizan named Featherstone, were notorious for their opposition to the royal supremacy. If, therefore, it was argued, the preachers who have shewn themselves disobedient to the King, are to be attainted; surely such a fate ought to overtake the traitors just named. This line of impartial cruelty was, accordingly, adopted. Barnes, Garret, and Jerome were attainted in the last Parliament as "detestable heretics, who had conspired together to set forth many heresies; and, taking themselves to be men of learning, had expounded the Scriptures, perverting them to their heresies, the number of which was too long to be repeated." These

[c] Foxe (1096.) says, that, on the Protestant side, there were in the council Archbishop Cranmer, Audley, the Chancellor, the Duke of Suffolk, Viscount Beauchamp, Viscount Lisle, Lord Russell, Paget, and Sadler: on the Romish side, the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Southampton, the Bishops of Durham and Winchester, Browne, Paulet, Baker, Rich, and Wingfield. He asserts, that the execution of the attainted persons, as it took place, was the result of this division. It probably was so; and there can be no doubt that the previous attainders resulted from the same cause.

[d] Wood's Athenæ.

sweeping generalities were closed by a provision, that these clergymen, "having formerly abjured, were now incorrigible heretics, and they therefore were condemned to be burnt, or otherwise suffer death, as should please the King." By the same act were attainted Damlip, Philpot, Buttolph, and Brindholme, four individuals from Calais, of whom the two former were Sacramentaries, and all of whom appear to have been accused of holding a correspondence with Pole; and another act inflicted the same penalty upon Abel, Featherstone, and Powell[e].

Two days after the death of Cromwell, the three attainted Reformers were ordered for execution; and, for the sake of making no invidious party distinctions, a similar order was given respecting Powell, Abel, and Featherstone. On the day appointed for this horrid spectacle, three hurdles, on each of which were placed a Protestant and a Papist fastened together, were dragged from the Tower to Smithfield, where preparations were made for burning those accused of heresy, and for hanging those accused of treason. To serious minds the pain of beholding this mournful procession must have been greatly aggravated by the rancorous bigotry of the Romish sufferers, who complained of being fastened to one denounced by their sect as a heretic, as an indignity more difficult to endure than even the violent death which was soon to close their eyes upon the

[e] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 458.

world. This interruption to their meditations upon better subjects, was borne by the Protestant martyrs with meekness and patience, a happy line of conduct, which exhibited advantageously the operation of scriptural principles[f].

When the prisoners arrived at the fatal spot, Barnes declared, that his opinion upon our Lord's incarnation had been misrepresented, it being his firm belief that Jesus truly took the substance of humanity from the Virgin: nor, he said, did he ever teach that good works were unnecessary, but only that they are not the grounds of man's justification; and, he added, no man without them will ever come to heaven. He was asked, what he thought of praying to saints? To which he answered, that he dared not recommend it, because Scripture is silent upon the subject; that indeed there did not exist any means of forming an opinion as to whether glorified souls pray for men, but that if he should find such to be any part of their employment, in the course of about half an hour he should be praying for the sheriff, and the spectators. He then asked, if any one about him knew what was the charge upon which he was to suffer; and when answered in the negative, he said, "I suppose it is heresy, as burning is to be my fate." Afterwards he prayed for those who had caused his death, whosoever they might be; a prayer in which he included Gardiner by name, as being a probable, though not a known,

[f] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 461.

author of his sufferings. His prayers for the King and the Prince were closed by the expression of an opinion, that even if a sovereign should act tyrannically, his subjects were bound to obey him. He then intreated the sheriff to convey the following, as his dying requests, to his Majesty: that a portion of the justly confiscated conventual property should be applied to the relief of the poor; that adultery, fornication, and common swearing, should be carefully repressed; and that the Reformation should be carried forward. A similar declaration of religious belief was made, equal loyalty, resignation, and charity, were discovered by the other Protestant martyrs; and all the three, after mutual embraces, and a parting prayer to God for the pardon of their sins, were fastened to the stake. They suffered with such fortitude and resignation, that few men left the spot consecrated by their blood, without an indelible feeling of respect for their memories, and of veneration for their principles[g].

Indeed this sanguinary execution filled the public mind with horror and disgust. Both parties were naturally shocked when they saw their adherents thus promiscuously dragged to death. A foreigner who mingled among the crowd assembled in Smithfield to view the execution, was heard to exclaim with just astonishment, "Good God, what a country is this! on one side they are hanging the Pope's friends, on the other they

[g] Foxe, 1095.

are burning his enemies." The general voice so loudly accused Gardiner of having, from pique against Barnes, caused all this mischief, that he thought it necessary to exculpate himself, by the circulation of a printed account of his conduct[h]. Injurious, however, to their reputation as the leading Romanists found the first exercise of their authority, they appear not to have been discouraged; but rather to have reasoned that perseverance in the career of blood would eventually trample down all opposition to their views. Boner, now completely converted by the depression of those unsuspecting patrons whom his hypocrisy had deceived, was eager to gain the confidence of the ruling party by an unlimited subserviency to their plans. As if to render his practices more glaringly disgraceful, the first victim of his unprincipled cruelty was a poor ignorant boy of fifteen, named Mekins, who was charged with holding unsound opinions of the Eucharist, and with saying, that Dr. Barnes died holy. It was with great difficulty that the grand jury was induced to find a bill against this unfortunate youth. At last, however, the persevering violence of Boner, who was in court, extorted from these jurors a judgment which must have rankled

[h] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 461. Halle relates the general impression of their contemporaries as to the cause which brought Barnes and his two companions to the stake, in the following words: "If I may say the truth, most men said they were condemned for preaching against the doctrine of Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester."

in their breasts to the end of their lives. This pusillanimity was followed by the condemnation and execution of the accused, who, when arrived at the stake, clearly shewed the futility of attaching any weight to his declarations, by allowing himself to be cajoled into an encomium upon his persecutor, and into a condemnation of Dr. Barnes. About the time when London was disgraced by these atrocities, Salisbury and Lincoln presented the same horrid scenes. At the former place three sufferers received at the stake the crown of martyrdom; at the latter, two.

In London an inquest sat, which soon found abundant employment. Some persons were presented for neglecting, ridiculing, or arguing against the mass; others for eating flesh in Lent; others for working on holidays; others for favouring and harbouring Dr. Barnes, and preachers holding similar opinions; and others for making a jest of what are called holy bread, holy water, and the like. As Grafton and Whitchurch, the publishers of the English Bible, were then in London, it could hardly be expected that they should escape during such an outpouring of Romish zeal. These tradesmen, however, appear to have been most provokingly circumspect, and nothing could be discovered to criminate them, except that "they were *suspected* not to have been confessed." For lack of a more serious charge, those who are unwilling to have it universally known that God's recorded Word is not the source of their peculiar doctrines, were compelled to content themselves

with this vague and absurd accusation against the obnoxious publishers, and they were brought before the diligent inquisitors. Their anxiety was shared by a great number of others; so that all the gaols were crowded, and many of the alleged heretics were confined, for want of room in the ordinary places of durance, in the halls belonging to the companies. Again, however, did this excessive activity in the instruments embarrass rather than gratify the movers of the persecution. It became evident that the gibbet and the stake could not be prudently recommended as the means of terminating even a reasonable proportion of the cases already under prosecution. Audley, the Chancellor, therefore, once more interposed his good offices; and although a free pardon was not in this instance conferred upon the accused persons, yet they were all discharged by his advice, upon giving security for the appearance of each other in the Star-chamber upon the morrow of All Souls. When the day arrived no one was called; and thus this second attempt to execute the act of Six Articles upon an extensive scale, served only to throw an imputation of malice and cruelty upon the Romish party [1].

On the 8th of August Catharine Howard was formally introduced as Queen to the royal circle at Hampton Court [k]. The Romanists now no longer affected to disguise their intention to stifle all freedom of enquiry. Melancthon had written

[1] Foxe, 1100. [k] Stow.

against the Six Articles; and some one attached to the household of Goodrich, Bishop of Ely, had ventured to translate and publish that Reformer's treatise. Neither the King's respect for the amiable German's character, nor the rank and moderation of Bishop Goodrich, availed to protect those who presumed to dispense information as to the real character of doctrines imposed by the Legislature upon men's consciences under the most tremendous penalties. By an order of council officers were sent down to seize the papers of Melancthon's translators; and it was provided, that even the Bishop's own study should be searched, if it were thought likely to contain any thing which the dominant faction had pronounced heretical [l].

Amidst these numerous attacks upon civil and religious liberty, the mind of Cranmer continued wholly unsubdued. The fate of Cromwell indeed filled him with deep concern [m]; and his enemies confidently anticipated, that, ere long, he would follow his friend to imprisonment and death. But whatever might be the Primate's own opinion of his prospects, he was at least determined to discharge his duty so long as he should be allowed to remain at liberty. This noble resolution he unequivocally discovered by his conduct among the commissioners appointed, under parliamentary authority, to compile a summary of doctrine. The Romanists struggled hard to obtain the pub-

[l] Collier, II. 183. [m] Parker, 492.

lication of such a document as might inculcate the principles of their sect. The Archbishop, however, positively refused to lend the sanction of his name to opinions, which he believed erroneous and pernicious. At one time some of the commissioners, who were his personal friends, and who were considered as attached to the Reformation, began to fear lest his pertinacity should betray him into the hands of his enemies. During one of the conferences holden by the commissioners at Lambeth, Hethe, Bishop of Rochester, Skyp, Bishop of Hereford, and some divines of inferior rank, whom the Archbishop valued, intreated him to withdraw with them for awhile, in the hope of overcoming his opposition by using such persuasions as were unfit to be employed before a mixed assemblage. He listened to their suggestions so far as to retire, in their company, into the garden; but at that point his compliance terminated. Cromwell was then in the Tower, awaiting his doom; and it was represented that the King, being completely devoted to the faction which had compassed the minister's disgrace, had determined upon the publication of such doctrines as would give satisfaction to the Romanists. The Archbishop replied, that only one view of the questions at issue could be consonant with truth; that his Highness would certainly discover that one in the end; and that if he found it at variance with any principles which he had been prevailed upon to sanction, he never would afterwards confide in the men who had led him into error.

"Let me therefore intreat you," said the conscientious Primate to his friends, "not to tamper with the honest conviction of your minds; but imitate my example, and make a bold stand for the maintenance of the truth." This honourable counsel was not, however, accepted by his friends, nor would he lend himself to their temporising expedients. On the contrary, when he found that all his brother commissioners concurred in the design of framing such articles as Scripture would not warrant, he appealed to the King, whom he completely satisfied as to the soundness of those conclusions to which his own mind had come. By thus firmly discharging his duty, the Archbishop completely foiled his opponents. Under the royal sanction, articles of religion were framed agreeably to his own views[n]. To the subsequent fate of these articles, a degree of obscurity is attached[o], which affords ground for suspecting that the party in power made such exertions as prevented them from being published by authority. However, they remain upon record an honourable testimony both to the conscientious firmness of Cranmer, and to the candour of his sovereign. They also served as a guide in the compilation of

[n] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 108.

[o] Hence Burnet has supposed, that the work produced was the "Necessary Doctrine;" but Mr. Todd, speaking of the publication of that work in 1543, says, "the annals of our typography exhibit no earlier copy." Original Sin, &c. as maintained by our Reformers, by the Rev. Henry John Todd, M.A. Lond. 1818.

the "Necessary Doctrine," an authorised exposition of faith and morals, which appeared at the distance of about three years from the present time.

The plan adopted by the commissioners [p] was to write at their leisure answers to certain queries upon the points which it was desired to determine, and to produce these answers on a given day. The most minute enquiry was directed to the Sacraments. Upon these, seventeen queries, embracing every particular relating to the nature, number, efficacy, and administration of the Christian mysteries, were directed to each commissioner. Cranmer's answers are remarkable, both from their decided leaning towards the Reformation, and from the absolute dependence of the priesthood upon the civil power, which they inculcate. However, the Archbishop did not detail these opinions without displaying at the same time his habitual modesty and candour. He thus concluded the exposition of his sentiments: "T. Cantuarien. This is mine opinion and sentence at this present, which, nevertheless, I do not temerariously affirm, but refer the judgment thereof unto your Majesty [q]."

The articles produced are mainly derived from the Confession of Augsburg, of which the phraseology is imitated, by the introduction of the several particulars with *we teach, we believe.* The

[p] Among these was Bishop Gardiner; but it does not appear that he took any part in the work.

[q] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 112.

whole mass of doctrine is interesting, not only as a monument of Cranmer's zeal for the truth, but also because it enters considerably into the composition of the articles of religion compiled in the next reign, and which, with no very numerous or important alterations, are still the standard of the English national belief. Of the doctrines put together at this time, the following is a summary. The Church, it is said, is a word having two significations in Scripture, viz. a congregation of those who truly believe in Christ the head, and are sanctified by the Holy Ghost; and a congregation of those who have been baptized, and who have not openly denied Christ, but among whom the good and the bad are mixed together. The unity of the Church is said to consist in holding sound doctrine, and in the right administration of the Sacraments[r]. Traditions relating to rites and discipline are asserted to be of human institution, to have been various, and to be susceptible of lawful variation according to circumstances, provided that every change be directed by reference to God's Word[s]. Ministerial unworthiness, it is

[r] These opinions are derived, with little alteration, from the Confession of Augsburg, c. vii; and the second signification is transferred to the existing Articles of our Church. Art. xix.

[s] This clause is derived also from the Augsburg Confession, c. vii. except the last member of it. Among the Articles of our Church, it forms, little changed, a great part of the thirty-fourth. The traditions meant are those which the Romanists denominate ecclesiastical, a class of traditions relating solely to Church ceremonies; a class confessedly, among the traditionists themselves, of human origin, and therefore wholly different from those un-

declared, does not diminish the efficacy of the Sacraments [t]. Justification is explained as the remission of sins, the reconciliation of man to God, his true renovation in Christ, the consequence of repentance, and right purpose of heart communicated by the Spirit; not, however, the just reward of repentance, or of any other human work, but the free gift of God derived through faith in the satisfaction of Christ. Of this faith it is taught, that it is not vain and idle, but that which "worketh by love;" not a mere acquaintance with articles of belief, a conviction of certain historical facts; but also, in addition to these things, such a trust in God's mercy for the sake of Christ, as is inseparably joined with hope and charity, and as is fruitful in good works. These last are said to be necessary for salvation, because every one who is justified and reconciled to God, studies to perform the Divine will; and because he who is not careful to do good works, neither possesses true faith, nor is justified, nor, unless he shall truly repent, will attain salvation [u]. In the Eucharist it is taught, that the body and blood of

written articles of faith which excite the respect of Romanists, the pity or contempt of all other Christians.

[t] This is derived from the Confession of Augsburg, c. viii. and is transferred, with very little alteration, to the twenty-sixth Article of our Church.

[u] What is said upon justification and faith is evidently derived from the Confession of Augsburg, *de fide*. The eleventh and twelfth Articles of our Church deliver the same doctrine; but more briefly than either the Augsburg Confession, or the articles of 1540.

Christ are truly and really present, so that all communicants, whether good or bad, receive them. Of baptism it is taught, that it is necessary to salvation; that it is the means of grace both to infants and adults; that by it the former are freed from the guilt of original sin, notwithstanding the permanence of concupiscence; that it ought to be administered to infants; that it ought not to be repeated; that in order to be efficacious in adults, it must be preceded by repentance and faith. Penitence is asserted to be necessary to all who have fallen into sin after baptism; to consist in a serious grief of mind for iniquities past, in a hatred of sin, in a confidence of pardon through Christ alone, and in a firm purpose of amendment[x]. Confession and private absolution are asserted to be worthy of retaining a place in the Church, on account of the latter, and of many other advantages; but it is said not to be necessary that all a man's offences be enumerated[y]. Of the Sacraments it is taught, that they are not merely signs of the Christian profession, but also the means, if rightly received, through which the Divine grace is conveyed to men; that, however, without re-

[x] This article is evidently composed with reference to the Augsburg Confession, c. xi. but it is much more diffuse; not however enough so, it appears, to satisfy some of the divines in the commission, as it is followed by a longer article upon the same subject, in which the importance of auricular confession and absolution is more fully inculcated.

[y] Derived, but little altered, from the Confession of Augsburg, c. xii.

pentance and faith, they are not profitable to adults, and hence that no benefit is derived from them merely *ex opere operato*, as some divines say[z]. In these last words is made the only direct attack upon Romish errors exhibited by these articles. So that although the party then in power found themselves unable to bend the sovereign completely to their views, they had at least the satisfaction to prevent the publication of such doctrines as plainly condemned the practices of their sect.

In another respect they found themselves obliged to undergo a considerable mortification. The Bible, that object so much dreaded by the Romish Church ever since her influence attained its greatest height, had not yet found its way into all parts of England. New editions of the Sacred Volume were, however, in hand; and a royal proclamation, issued in May, rendered every parish which should not be provided with a Bible before the next festival of All Hallows, liable to a penalty of forty shillings *per* month so long as this omission should continue[a]. While a new folio impression was in progress, Grafton, the publisher, met Boner; and having been patronized and feasted by that prelate at Paris during the time

[z] Plainly derived from the Confession of Augsburg, c. xiii. and transferred to the twenty-fifth Article of our Church. The articles of 1540, "or," says Archbishop Laurence, "what are given as such," are printed by Strype, Eccl. Mem. Appendix, I. 442.

[a] Lewis, 137.

occupied in printing the Bible destroyed by the French inquisitors, he ventured to express his grief at the news, then in every mouth. This was no other than the disgrace of Cromwell, to whom the Bishop was so deeply indebted, to whom he had often, in Grafton's hearing, professed himself so warmly attached, and who had been committed to the Tower on the preceding day. Now, however, even the minister's fall seemed to occupy no space in the thoughts of one who owed a splendid station to his unsuspecting confidence. The mention of news only elicited from him a careless question, as to what news was meant? "The apprehension of the Earl of Essex," was Grafton's answer. "And are you sorry for that?" said Boner: "it had been good that he had been despatched long ago." Astounded at the discovery of such base duplicity, the publisher silently withdrew, and never again attempted to revive his acquaintance with the man who, when he basked in the sunshine of ministerial patronage, had professed to feel so warm an interest in his undertaking [b]. It was not, however, in the new Bishop of London's power to prevent the Bible from appearing. The new edition was published with a prologue, written by Cranmer [c], and its circulation followed as a matter of course. Boner then made a virtue of necessity, and providing six Bibles, placed them upon desks in different spots within St. Paul's cathedral. Over each of

[b] Foxe, 1087.

[c] Lewis, 136.

these desks was an admonition to the following effect: "That every reader should so prepare himself as to be edified by the perusal; that he should bring with him discretion, honest intent, charity, reverence, and quiet behaviour; that such a number as to form a multitude should not assemble round one desk; that no exposition be made; that the book be not read with noise during the time of divine service; and that no disputation upon it be entered into[d]." No sooner were the Bibles fastened to their respective places than the cathedral was crowded by persons anxious to read them, or hear them read; and opinions at variance with Romanism were continually deduced from the Sacred Volume. Boner was disgusted on witnessing this natural consequence of allowing the people that access to Scripture, which is the indisputable right of every man within its reach. He published a new advertisement, in which complaint was made of real or pretended abuses arising from biblical reading; and the people were threatened with the loss of their valued privilege, unless it should be more discreetly used. This threat, however, was not carried into execution at that time[e]. Indeed in the present year were printed another edition of the Bible, and some versions of parts, or the whole of the New Testament[f]; so that the Romanists might well despair of being enabled to stay the flood of religious light.

[d] Lewis, 138. [e] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 468. [f] Cotton, 7.

While sound religion was gradually gaining ground in England, its influence extended to the town and neighbourhood of Calais. That place, with its dependencies, were considered in the diocese of Canterbury; and a commissary, under the Archbishop, resided upon the spot. Sir John Butler, who had recently been commissary, had imbibed the principles of the Reformation, and had adopted the Zuinglian doctrine of the Eucharist. Upon one occasion he even uttered a coarse jest, in order to shake the credit of transubstantion. "If," said he, "there be flesh, blood, and bone in the consecrated elements, then there is good *eau de vie* to be had at John Spicer's." The hearers who deposed to this speech were two soldiers, men probably fully persuaded, that it would be far from desirable to resort to the dealer in question for a dram of their favourite liquor. Butler had derived his opinion from Damlip, a zealous preacher attainted in the last Parliament. This divine had been formerly chaplain to Bishop Fisher; and after his patron's death, had travelled into Italy, for the purpose of being edified by the conversation and example of the principal Romish dignitaries, for whose religious opinions he then entertained the highest reverence. Among the papal courtiers Pole received his countryman with great kindness, and would fain have retained him to read lectures in his house. But a personal inspection of Roman piety had wrought a complete change in Damlip's sentiments, and he steadily refused the English Cardinal's offers, being deter-

mined upon returning home to evangelise his own countrymen. At Calais he was induced to suspend his journey, at the invitation of the Lord Deputy, Arthur Plantagenet[s], Viscount Lisle; and he began immediately to preach with great zeal the doctrines of Protestantism, especially levelling his eloquence against transubstantiation. The good folks of Calais were at first not a little scandalised to hear arguments and invectives against a principle so firmly established; for there is reason to believe, that their town had, in a former age, produced sceptics as to the powers of the Romish priesthood to change the sacramental elements; which gainsayers had, however, been put to an open shame, by a miracle of established efficacy in supporting Popery's leading doctrine. In the church of St. Nicholas was a representation of the resurrection, appended to which was a written account of three hosts that bled, and of a piece of bone which was produced at the celebration of a certain mass. This portent was recommended to the notice of men by a bull of indulgence, offering such benefits as Popes are supposed to have the power of bestowing, to all who should visit the scene of the extraordinary event. The bloody hosts and the bone were said to be safely lodged in the sepulchre of our Lord, which, according to custom, was among the ornaments of the church. However, so far was Damlip from being shaken in his antipathy to transubstantiation, by the won-

[s] Natural son of Edward IV.

derful tale which conferred celebrity upon the church of St. Nicholas, that he boldly affirmed the whole statement to be bottomed in some impudent cheat, played off upon the people before Calais was taken by the English. An order from the King for the removal of superstitious shrines, afforded the means of proving satisfactorily that the preacher's judgment was correct. Butler, the Archbishop's commissary, proceeded, under this authority, to examine the contents of the far-famed cenotaph. He found them to consist in three counters, which had evidently been painted red, and a small piece of bone, which was pronounced to be the tip of a sheep's tail. These illustrious proofs of transubstantiation, Damlip exhibited in the pulpit on the following day, and the credit of that important article in the Romish creed immediately was reduced to a very low ebb in Calais. Still it did not lose all its friends; and, as these were powerful, a fierce persecution, under the act of Six Articles, soon reduced all timid spirits in the place to the prevailing standard of orthodoxy. Butler, the commissary, together with Smith, a preacher, was sent in custody to England, where both underwent a long confinement, and many examinations. At length Butler was discharged, with the loss of his appointment: Smith, with others, consented to recant. Damlip was brought before the Archbishop of Canterbury, and other prelates, who endeavoured in vain to shake his opinions upon the Eucharist. Cranmer indeed was so struck with the learning of

Damlip, that he found himself at length much at a loss to answer him; and being fully convinced of his uncommon merit, he sent him a private message, advising him to abscond. This kind recommendation was immediately adopted. The accused, after transmitting to the prelates a copious statement of his opinions, with their authorities, in writing, secretly withdrew into the West of England, where he gained a subsistence by teaching school. He did not, however, escape the malice of his enemies; for his name was inserted in one of the acts of attainder passed in the last Parliament; and, in order to aggravate his alleged offences, his former acquaintance with Cardinal Pole was raked from oblivion. Little as it was likely that a divine of Damlip's known sentiments should be in correspondence with that most devoted partizan of the Papacy, his enemies hesitated not to lay that offence to his charge. Clement Philpot, a servant who had adopted reformed principles, was also attainted upon the same ground; as was Buttolph, who, being active in stirring up the persecution at Calais, was not unlikely to have been really engaged in some correspondence with Pole. Damlip appears to have been no great while at liberty; for, after a confinement of about two years in the Marshalsea, he was sent over to Calais; and there, with notable absurdity as well as cruelty, he was hanged, drawn, and quartered, under pretence of inflicting punishment upon him for his traitorous subserviency to that English Cardinal, of whose sentiments he

had long been one of the most active and zealous opponents [h].

Towards the conclusion of the year [i], the conversion of certain abbeys into episcopal sees was commenced by the accomplishment of that change at Westminster. About the same time the monks were ejected from the cathedrals into which they had been intruded by Norman policy. The re-establishment of a dean and canons in the church of Canterbury was effected under the personal superintendance of Cranmer; who thus had the satisfaction of restoring to its ancient state an establishment which his predecessor, Lanfranc, had perverted to the purposes of superstition and papal tyranny [k]. While the restoration was in pro-

[h] Foxe, 1114.

[i] In December. In the August of the following year the see of Chester was founded; in the next month were founded the sees of Gloucester and Peterborough; in June, 1542, the see of Bristol was established; in September of the same year that of Oxford, being fixed at Oseney. Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 463. Godwin, de Præsul. 545, 563.

[k] "Constat enim Decanos ecclesiæ (Cantuariensis) præfecturam tenuisse usque restaurationem ejus a Lanfranco post annum MLXXIV. factam. Nisi quis forsitan tempus excipiat intermedium institutioni monachorum anno MIII. et devastationi ecclesiæ anno MXII. Monachos enim ecclesiæ Cantuariensi, ejectis canonicis sæcularibus, Elfricus Archiepiscopus primus induxit anno circiter MIII. Anno MXII. spoliata a Danis ecclesia, monachisque omnibus, si quatuor demas interemptis, clericis ecclesiam subierunt, et antiquis legibus *sub Decani regimine usque ad Lanfranci tempora tenuerunt.*" (Wharton, Hist. Decan. et Prior. Eccl. Cant. Angl. Sacr. I. 135.) Such pieces of history as this are not only interesting as matters of curiosity, but they are also important in

gress, the Archbishop discovered the soundness and liberality of his sentiments, by the conduct which he pursued respecting the school about to be appended to his cathedral. With him were joined in commission the Chancellor of the Court of Augmentations, the Attorney-general, and others; among whom it was proposed, that none but the sons of gentlemen should be admitted as scholars upon the new foundation. The Primate, however, descended as he was from a family long possessed of hereditary opulence, resisted the unwise and illiberal spirit of exclusion prevailing among his brother commissioners. "In my opinion," said he, "it is of great importance that, since God has confined intellectual benefits to no particular station, persons of every rank should have an opportunity of obtaining a good education. Poor men's children are often gifted with imagination, memory, eloquence, sobermindedness, a good enunciation; and the cultivation of natural talents is commonly prosecuted with the greatest diligence by those who have little other dependence." This language, so obviously dictated by a sound understanding and Christian principles, was met by the usual pretences of pride and selfishness. It was asserted to be fit that the husbandman's son should learn

a religious point of view; because some persons conceit that, in adhering to Popery, they are following antiquity. Those who are able and willing to make the requisite enquiry, will however find that Popery is innovation, and that the Reformers were in truth engaged in restoring the Church to her ancient state.

of his father to till the ground, the artificer's to excel in a mechanical occupation, while the gentleman's child ought to receive such an education as might qualify him to take a share in public affairs; and that, since ploughmen and other such laborious hands are necessary to the well-being of a state, instruction tending to place men above such occupations ought not to be indiscriminately accessible. To these observations the Archbishop thus replied. "I grant that we must have a supply of men trained to manual labour; but, at the same time, an exclusion from the hope of liberal education, of every one whose father held the plough, looks like a desire to restrain the Deity from conferring his most valuable benefits beyond the limits of a narrow circle drawn by our pride and prejudices. God, however, does not act thus partially. He diffuses through every rank the seeds of intellectual eminence; and he often withdraws from a great man's posterity that ability which raised their progenitor. If, therefore, we were to decide upon cultivating the minds of those alone to whom our illiberal fancy would appropriate conspicuous stations, our design, like that of Babel's architects, would probably miscarry from the hopeless incapacity of those who may spring from us. Such incapacity have I often seen in children of gentle blood. Nor should we forget that, well-born as is I believe every one of us, we are all descended from ancestors of a humbler class, some one of whom, by the successful exertion of his talents, has been enabled

to confer opulence and distinction upon his posterity." To this it was answered, that aristocratic honours had generally been acquired by means of military merit. "It may be so," resumed the Archbishop; "but, nevertheless, had not the successful soldier possessed and cultivated a good understanding, he would never have become a great captain. Now, from the labour requisite for the complete developement of a man's natural talents, the youth of easy fortune is generally found to shrink; while the poor man's son is seen to undergo it with alacrity. Hence we are taught in Scripture, that God raiseth up men from the dunghill, and setteth them in high authority; while, at the same time, his providence thrusts down princes into a condition of poverty and contempt. My sentence therefore is, if a gentleman's son be apt to learn, let him be admitted into the school; if he be found unapt, let him be dismissed, and the hopeful progeny of a poor man substituted in his place[1]." The soundness of this reasoning few in these days will doubt, and none will openly deny: for since the capability of intellectual improvement is, like other unquestionable advantages, distributed without respect of station, if the avenues to knowledge be closed against all but the hereditary members of a privileged caste, the intellectual growth of a nation must be stunted, and its most certain source of greatness materially impaired.

[1] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 127.

No circumstance is so remarkable in the ecclesiastical history of this year as the rise of the Jesuits. The Papacy is indebted for this band of artful and devoted partizans to the fanatical reveries of a noble Spaniard, named Ignatius, who derived the surname of Loyola from a castle in Biscay, at which he was born in 1492[m]. Educated at the court of Ferdinand and Isabella, thence transferred to the army, he spent a youth of gaiety and dissipation. In his thirtieth year he was severely wounded at the siege of Pampeluna, then besieged by the French. An unskilful surgeon rendered his cure tedious, and thus the active habits of his former life being interrupted, he was driven to think of books as an expedient to relieve the irksomeness of his confinement. A legendary history of Romish saints was put into his hands, and he read it with avidity. The ardour of his passions, repressed indeed, but not extinguished by the inglorious ease which wore away his time, now pointed out a road to fame which had hitherto escaped his notice. The flame of enthusiasm heated and dazzled his imagination; he left the couch of sickness emulous as ever of distinction, but he felt anxious that it should spring from that heroic self-devotion which Romanists attribute to the individuals commemorated in their calendar. He made a solemn dedication of his arms to our Lady of Montserrat, assumed a dress of sackcloth, practised those austerities by which religious

[m] Herbert, 226.

madmen soothe their consciences or feed their vanity, and devoted himself to the favourite folly of his age, the maintenance of Mary's uninterrupted virginity. After enduring the most rigorous mortifications during twelve months, he travelled into Palestine for the double purpose of visiting the scene of our Saviour's sufferings, and of converting the infidels. The reckless indiscretion with which he was preparing to embark in the latter enterprise alarmed, however, the provincial of the Franciscans, and that prudent friar soon contrived the means of sending Loyola back to Europe. When arrived in Spain, the enthusiastic pilgrim applied himself to the study of scholastic theology, and was thus enabled to invest his fanaticism with an air of greater respectability. A few followers were now attracted by his austerities and exertions, to the great disgust of monks and friars, who, being determined to resist all encroachments upon their established dominion over the weak and superstitious, denounced Loyola to the inquisition; the merciless fangs of which tribunal he determined upon eluding for the future by a residence in a foreign country. Paris was the place of his retreat, and there he soon found some kindred spirits, eager to embrace a new and vigorous system of fanaticism in preference to any one which had become familiar and relaxed. His success again elicited a formidable mass of opposition, which however sank powerless before his flaming zeal; and in spite of the hostility which sought to crush his hopes, he

formed in the French metropolis a devoted band of disciples, who called themselves the Company of Jesus.

This association Loyola naturally desired to render permanent, and he repaired to Rome in order to obtain for his design the papal sanction. But the time for the favourable reception of such an application was somewhat gone by. The monks and friars had been grievously exposed in most countries of Europe, and sound policy seemed to dictate the unsparing reformation, or even the partial suppression of the monastic system, rather than its extension. Hence Loyola's proposals were at first coolly received at Rome, and Cardinal Guidiccioni, to whom with two of his brethren they were referred by the Pope, not only strenuously urged their total rejection, but even went so far as to write a treatise expressly levelled against them[a]. The Spanish enthusiast, however, possessed a spirit which scorned to crouch before difficulties. On his knees he besought Paul not to discourage the formation of a society which, in addition to other monastic vows, proposed to bind itself by an obligation to use every practicable expedient for the support and extension of the papal influence. Rome had now become woefully sensible that, for the services of an association thoroughly willing and able to uphold the Papacy, there was indeed sufficient employment. Monks and friars had hitherto served

[a] History of the Jesuits. Lond. 1816. I. 377.

to persuade men that the keys of heaven were entrusted to the Roman Bishop. But a spirit of discrimination and enquiry was now abroad, which had already circumscribed, and which seemed not unlikely in the end to annihilate, the influence of that princely prelate. Popery, therefore, which has never existed without the aid of monkery, needed a new organization of that pest and disgrace to Christian communities. Monks were now required who should combine an unlimited devotion to the Papacy, with habits adapted to obtain an influence in a state of society tolerably enlightened. The honest enthusiasm of Loyola afforded an opportunity of establishing such an order; and the Pope, convinced that a refined policy guided his determination, consented to the formation of that society*, which soon contrived to play a part on the world's great theatre, at once so conspicuous and disreputable.

Of all the Romish orders denominated religious, the Jesuits have been the most respectable as to learning, the least so as to sound morality. Although acknowledging as their founder one of the most ardent devotees that ever existed, they are exempted from the burden of ceaseless prayers and oft-recurring fasts; those features in a monastic life once deemed so meritorious. The Jesuit, indeed, is to have no object but the interest of his society, and that of the Papacy; hence he is bound to nothing which is likely to interfere

* By a bull dated September 27, 1540. History of the Jesuits, I. 378.

with these paramount considerations. Unhesitating, unenquiring obedience to the general of his order[p], is the mainspring of his actions. Hence a single mind moves the whole jesuitic mass. An individual occupying no very conspicuous place in the public eye, wields with despotic power and profound cunning a body of able instruments dispersed over a large portion of the globe. From this body a weak and superstitious sovereign may always be supplied with a confessor, that is, an irresponsible minister; parents may be supplied with instructors for their children; the parents themselves with spiritual advisers; an enquiring public with specious writers; a turbulent community with skilful conspirators; a Protestant people with insidious propagators of Popery; a Pagan nation with indefatigable and accommodating missionaries; an ignorant or fanatical populace with agents fitted to kindle and feed the flame of enthusiasm; and a country which affords facilities for making money, with active traders thoroughly awake to the advantages of their situation. That such a body of men should have succeeded in realising its plans to an immense extent, can excite no surprise; nor that, at length, even Popish governments should have found its influence intolerable. But although the royal disciples of the Roman Church succeeded in obtaining from their Pontiff the dissolution of the Jesuitic society, its scattered elements still re-

[p] Loyola was the first general of his order. He died in 1556. History of the Jesuits, I. 390.

mained, and the important services rendered to the Papacy by these able and artful men were not forgotten. The present generation, accordingly, has witnessed the revival of this confederacy; and it becomes Protestants to bear constantly in mind, that its object is the subversion of their faith: an object, indeed, far transcending human power; but although the Jesuit will never accomplish to any very considerable extent the purpose of his blind self-devotion, he may succeed in poisoning the principles and riveting the prejudices of many insulated Christians: hence those who desire the prevalence of truth, as developed in Holy Writ, are bound to turn away with distrust, contempt, or indignation, from the disciples of Loyola.

In this year an attempt was made to impose sumptuary laws upon the clergy. The increase of money was beginning to work a change in the domestic habits of persons in superior life, who, finding it easy to barter the products of their estates for an equivalent in the precious metals, were rapidly abandoning the old method of consuming in rude hospitality a large proportion of their resources upon the spots from which they arose. Money was now easily drawn from land, and the rich proprietor ceased to crowd his hall with idle and turbulent dependents, or to allow his gates to be beset with helpless and importunate paupers. Instead of these popular modes of dispensing what, in truth, from the defect of monied consumers, his predecessors had a difficulty in

disposing of otherwise, he now disbursed the pecuniary proceeds of his land in a more refined manner, and among a select circle of private acquaintances. Few persons of sound sense and good information will, in these days, be found to deny that this apparently more selfish mode of applying the profits of an estate, is far more beneficial to the community than the coarse and indiscriminate profusion which is forced upon a proprietor who can find neither good markets nor responsible tenants. When rich men pay money instead of bestowing provisions, the poor enjoy a subsistence which they have fairly earned by their ingenuity or labour: a circumstance ministering respectability to poverty, and often leading to independence. But however evident are the advantages to the whole community of employing instead of merely patronising the poor, those who had lived in idleness under the latter system would be very slow to acknowledge, or even to discern, the excellence of the former. Nor, when the change of manners was recent, would many persons of good intentions and superior information fail to countenance the clamour of the lower orders. Looking only to the indisputable facts, that the decay of popular hospitality proceeded from the selfishness of the rich, and caused dissatisfaction among the poor, it would certainly appear, even to minds above the ordinary stamp, a grievous departure from the best fashion of English manners. The obloquy arising from this cause fell, as usual, most heavily upon the clergy;

who were loudly taxed with forsaking the popular liberality of their predecessors, for the gratification of expensive habits among their private friends. Cranmer heard with pain these complaints against the members of his profession, and, in concert with other prelates, he issued an order for the future regulation of clerical tables. By this curious constitution it is enjoined, "that the archbishops should not exceed six dishes of flesh, on ordinary days, and of fish, on fish days; that a bishop should not exceed five such dishes; a dean or archdeacon, four; and every inferior clergyman three." In the second course an archbishop was to be allowed four dishes; a bishop, three; and all of lower rank, two. But if any private clergyman should entertain a superior of his own profession, or a layman of distinction, he was to be allowed to make such provision as comported with the quality of his guest; and if an ambassador should honour any clerical family with his presence, the credit of English hospitality was to be maintained, by throwing down all restrictions upon the preparation for the feast. The second course appears to have consisted ordinarily of custards, tarts, fritters, cheese, apples, pears, and other food of the lighter kind. To prevent these regulations from being evaded by the over-crowding of dishes, it was ordered, "that of the greater fish or fowl, as cranes, swans, turkeys, haddocks, pike, tench, there should be but one in a dish: of the smaller sorts, as capons, pheasants, rabbits, woodcocks, but two: of par-

tridges, three, at an archbishop's table; at a bishop's, or at that of an inferior clergyman, two. Blackbirds might be six in a dish, at an archbishop's table, but not more than four at a bishop's: nor was any one to have more than twelve larks, snipes, or other little birds, in one dish." As it was anticipated that these arrangements would tend to spare the pockets of the clergy, it was farther enjoined, that the money saved should not be hoarded, but be spent in providing plain food for the benefit of the poor. This, like other sumptuary laws, was very little regarded. During two or three months, clergymen ordinarily regulated their tables according to the prescribed standard; but after that time they resumed the liberty of judging for themselves as to the sort of housekeeping which they would maintain[q]. This early relapse into the reprobated habits occasioned great regret in many well-meaning persons: those, however, who reason upon such subjects more candidly and more soundly, are thoroughly aware that no regulations tend so certainly to a man's advantage as those dictated by his own prudence, and, therefore, that any external interference which checks the growth of this virtue is worse than useless. It was indeed alleged, that when these sumptuary laws were promulged, the luxury of churchmen had become excessive. This allegation, however, like all sweeping censures of whole bodies of men,

[q] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 648.

was, most probably, inconsiderately and unfairly made. Instances of culpable vanity and extravagance might, undoubtedly, at all times, be substantiated among the members of a numerous profession; but it may always be assumed with certainty, that, as regards luxury and ostentation, the clergy merely follow at a moderate distance those of the laity with whom they associate. There are, indeed, those who would deny to the priesthood a liberty of pursuing the domestic habits of superior life. Some men finding that refined indulgences are placed beyond their own reach, hate and envy all to whose lot they fall; and such men think that their splenetic invectives may always be directed without contradiction, if not with applause, against an opulent ecclesiastic. There are others who, entertaining gloomy views of religion, consider that every clergyman ought to be an ascetic. Observations from the former class of objectors deserve very little notice; from the latter may be answered, by adverting to the inutility of outward mortifications, unless the heart go with the act; the difficulty, perhaps the impossibility, of obtaining a constant succession of ascetics at once rational and sincere; and, after all, the great reason that there is to doubt, whether a moderate participation in such relaxations as are not vicious, and as come fairly within a man's reach, is forbidden by the Christian religion. It is indeed sufficiently plain, from the liberal scale of the regulations attempted to be imposed upon the clergy at this time, that Cranmer was far from

desiring to exclude his brethren from the innocent pleasures of society. He was the enemy of monkery, and therefore could not intend to introduce any thing approaching to its delusive will-worship among the clergy; but he was animated by that tender regard for the feelings and scruples of the laity, which every conscientious clergyman will ever feel, and which will cause him to view some indulgences, lawful perhaps, as certainly inexpedient in a man of his calling. Hence the house-keeping regulations, promulgated at this time, though not strictly flowing from sound views of political economy, were at least an amiable concession to public opinion. At the present period these regulations are curious, both inasmuch as they shew, that our great Reformer, though strict in enforcing clerical moderation, never intended to impose such restrictions upon the priesthood as must degrade it from taking a distinguished place among the liberal professions; and that the domestic habits of England were then undergoing an important change. To this change are owing the intelligence and refinement which now descend in a graduated scale from the extreme of opulence to the very verge of poverty! No longer have persons born in lower life the hope of wasting their days in idleness and turbulence; they have been driven by the selfish luxury of the rich to the cultivation of their own talents, and the husbanding of their own resources; a necessity which has given rise not only to tranquil and virtuous poverty, but also to that indepen-

dent, well-informed, and well-conducted middle class, for which England is so pre-eminently conspicuous.

In April the uneasiness of the northern counties again broke out in open rebellion. The empire of superstition was still firmly established in this part of the kingdom; and the warlike population was easily incited to resist, by force of arms, the restoration of Scriptural Christianity. Sir John Neville was the leader, who, upon this occasion, undertook to direct the misguided peasantry. The insurrection, however, had made but little progress when the government was enabled to crush it; and Neville, with several of his accomplices, perished by the hand of the executioner[r]. This act of justice was followed by the violent death of the aged Countess of Salisbury, who was, after a confinement of two years, dragged to a scaffold within the Tower[s]. The execution of this venerable lady was ordered under the act of attainder voted against her for a correspondence with her son Cardinal Pole; and it is not known whether she had been detected in any fresh communication with that ill-advised ecclesiastic, or whether such an offence was merely presumed from the bursting forth of a new northern rebellion. It is, however, certain, that not even the near prospect of dissolution, which commonly effects an important change in the human mind, caused her to discover any other feeling than one

[r] Godwin, Annal. 73.

[s] Holinshed.

of indignation for the treatment forced upon her. At the place of execution she offered every resistance within her power to the accomplishment of her sentence. When desired to lay her neck upon the block, she answered, "That should traitors do, and I am none." Nor, when it was represented to her, that resignation to force which could not be resisted, was best suited to her unhappy circumstances, would she abandon the course upon which she had determined. "If," said she, "the executioner will have my head, he must get it as he can." This spirit of resistance left her only with life. Even after she had been forcibly placed in a situation for receiving the fatal stroke, she continued to shake her hoary locks, and to offer every practicable impediment to the business of the executioner, until at length, with awkwardness and embarrassment, he severed her head from the body[1]. She was then seventy-two years of age, and was the last survivor, legitimately born, to the name of Plantagenet. For the honour of Henry's government, and of human nature, it is to be hoped that some powerful necessity dictated the execution of a lady thus venerable from age and illustrious ancestry.

The inveterate bigotry and disaffection of his northern subjects, at length made the King determine upon trying what effect his personal influence might have in bringing them to a sounder state. The pageantry of a court is so well adapt-

[1] May 27. Herbert, 227.

ed to captivate the human mind, which loves to dwell on splendid trifles, and the elevation of royalty renders their good-humoured condescension so universally flattering, that sovereigns can hardly fail of gaining popularity by paying a friendly visit to any part of their dominions in which they are strangers. But besides these advantages, which were common to Henry with all other princes, he possessed qualities more than ordinarily adapted to gain upon the affections of his subjects. Blunt and sincere to all who approached him, liberal and good-natured to such as did not cross his purpose, literary beyond the usual standard of his time, attentive to business, magnificent in his tastes, authoritative in his habits, he was thought to be eminently qualified for wielding the sceptre over an honourable and high-minded nation. His reign had indeed been marked by acts of severity, which, in these days, would be pronounced tyrannical and cruel; but the victims were selected from no one particular party, either religious or political; the ordinary course of justice, though rigid, was even-handed[u];

[u] On the 25th of June, Lord Leonard Gray, son of the Marquess of Dorset, who had recently been Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, was beheaded on Tower Hill, upon a charge, which he admitted, of so conducting affairs in his government, as to be ready to promote the designs of Cardinal Pole, and other traitors. On the same day was hanged Thomas Fines, Lord Dacre of the South, a young man of four and twenty, who had committed a murder, in company with some disorderly associates, upon a poor man who resisted them in an attempt to steal deer. Great interest was made to save this young nobleman's life; but the King,

and the most conspicuous of those who had fallen on the scaffold were persons of elevated station, with whose sufferings the mass of men are little disposed to sympathise. The King, therefore, had no cause to doubt, that a progress into the North would augment his popularity; and he reasonably flattered himself, that his influence and example would throw a discredit upon those stupid miracles and pilgrimages [x], by which his subjects in that part of the kingdom were laid prostrate at the feet of headlong fanatics, and religious or political impostors.

Another object which he had in view was a conference with his nephew, the King of Scotland; upon whom he wished to press the adoption of his own policy, in disowning the Pope, and in confiscating the revenues of those monkish agents, by whose means the Roman see has acquired and maintained its influence. To this latter step James was strongly tempted by his necessities. Being little more than the most distinguished members of a needy and powerful aristocracy, the Kings of Scotland had ever maintained a continued struggle with poverty and turbulence. To the difficulties inseparable from such a situation, James had added a load of embarrassments flowing from early improvidence. He had given way to that love of dissipation, by which all men are tempted at the outset of life, and great men more

much to his credit, was inexorable. Herbert, 226. Godwin, Annal. 73.

[x] Herbert, 227.

than others. He was now suffering under the inevitable consequences of his guilty follies. Ruined finances stared him in the face, and thus his preponderance over his turbulent nobles was maintained with a degree of difficulty greater than a prince of so much ability would otherwise have had to encounter. If he could have made up his mind to seize the conventual property, he might indeed have easily retrieved his affairs; for Scotland, like other countries which had admitted Popery, was abundantly supplied with opulent monasteries. But the absence of a middle class rendered the clergy the only domestic allies upon which the crown could calculate; while at the same time the comparative weakness of the northern British nation, caused it to rely, as a protection from its southern neighbour, upon continental powers, then in league with Rome. The King of Scotland, therefore, had good reason to doubt, whether the ruin of a body attached to himself, and in close connexion with the Papacy, would be sound policy. Hence, in preference to his uncle's plan for the removal of his financial embarrassments, he was inclined to adopt that of the monks, who represented, that if the laws against heresy were rigorously enforced, confiscations sufficient to produce one hundred thousand crowns a year, would flow into the royal exchequer[y]. James also had contracted a violent prejudice against the revival of Scriptural Christianity; and had

[y] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 478.

abandoned himself so completely to the artful suggestions of interested persons about him, that he refused to hear more than one side of the question. His uncle Henry had sent to him a present of splendidly-bound books, inculcating the faith displayed in the writings of Apostles and Evangelists, and recently so happily restored to the notice of men, by the labours of the Reformers. These costly volumes were, however, no sooner received by the Scottish monarch, than they were committed to the flames. "It is better," said he, "that I should destroy them, than that they should destroy me." Upon a prince thus intent upon seeing no farther than his confessor bade him, state papers and friendly messages had no chance of operating. But a personal conference will often effect what has defied every other mode of communication; and Henry calculated, that a man of his mature age, great political importance, and acknowledged ability, could hardly fail of impressing his nephew, in the course of conversation, with a favourable opinion of the policy which he had adopted, and now desired to recommend. The Scottish clergy indeed seem not to have been without apprehensions as to the result of such a meeting; and hence they laboured, by every art, to render their sovereign averse from undertaking a journey into England.

In Scotland, as in every other European country, a large number of persons were alive to the importance of deriving religious knowledge from an unquestionable source. Indeed very soon after

the appearance of Wickliffe, the revival of an apostolic faith was announced beyond the Tweed by an Englishman named Resby. To the soundness of his principles, this herald of better things was called upon to bear witness at the stake, in the year 1407. As usual, however, this barbarous intolerance missed its object; and the opinions which had been supported with such a noble constancy, continued to gain ground in the country. The spirit of cruelty was not, however, extinguished. Paul Craw, a refugee from the continent, who had adopted the principles of Huss, was burnt as a heretic in the year 1432; and as an encouragement to all who should labour to crush the rising disposition for enquiry, the man who had been the means of convicting the unfortunate foreigner, was rewarded for his services with the opulent abbacy of Melrose. Still, however, the genuine doctrines of the written Word continued to make their way in Scotland; and the south-western counties in particular became notorious as the residence of individuals in every rank who considered their country to be in a state of religious degradation. The progress of evangelical principles had been lately aided by Patrick Hamilton, whose instructions came recommended to the people by his illustrious lineage, and Christian meekness. In order to cultivate the natural genius of this amiable man by means of foreign travel, the King, to whom he was nearly related, had conferred upon him the abbacy of Ferns. Abroad, Hamilton conversed with Luther, Me-

lancthon, and other great men, who were intent upon restoring the Catholic Church to a state of strict conformity with the unquestionable declarations of her inspired founders. These eminent men infused into the ductile mind of the noble Scot, such notions of divine truth, as being drawn from certain sources, are obviously worthy of implicit reliance; and he returned to his own land full of anxiety to be instrumental in healing what he found himself constrained to consider the spiritual blindness of his countrymen. A reformer of his birth and excellence soon aroused the angry passions of the clergy. Accordingly, he was invited to St. Andrew's, under pretence of disputing with Campbell, Prior of the Dominicans, upon some controverted points of theology. By many of his arguments the friar professed to feel convinced; but he so contrived to conduct the conference as to draw from Hamilton sufficient to constitute a charge of heresy. On this he was arraigned before the Archbishops, and several others of the prelacy and priesthood; by whom he was adjudged an obstinate heretic, and delivered over to the secular arm. Before night the iniquity of his judges was consummated. The victim, however, was nowise daunted by this precipitate cruelty. When fastened to the stake, the fatal pile burnt slowly round him, and the spectators observed with mournful admiration his gentle piety, and noble constancy. As usual upon these sad occasions, the monks were foremost with their importunities; and by them the victim was ex-

horted to implore the Virgin Mary's intercession for the relief of his sufferings. This stupid advice was received with merited indifference; but when the traitor Campbell became the most officious disturber of his peace, the dying martyr thus addressed him: "Wicked man, thou knowest that I am not a heretic, and that it is the truth of God for which I am suffering. So much thou didst confess to me in private; and thereupon I appeal thee to answer before the judgment-seat of Christ." This was no sooner said than the sufferer was enveloped in a mass of raging flame; regardless, however, of its fierceness, he was heard to ejaculate, "Lord, how long shall darkness oppress this land? How long wilt thou suffer this tyranny of men?" When at length he felt that his soul was upon the point of fleeing from its earthly citadel, he cried, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit:" and his voice was heard no more. Grief, horror, and admiration, filled by turns the minds of those who had witnessed this cruel spectacle. The unhappy Campbell, whose treacherous agency had conducted the martyr to the stake, retired to his cloister gloomy and conscience-stricken: the appeal to Christ's judgment-seat, which had been denounced against him under such awful circumstances, preyed upon his spirits. He languished for a year, and then died distracted. His miserable end was commonly viewed among the people as a judicial visitation of Providence, that plainly pointed to the more righteous cause; and the principles of Patrick Hamilton were extended rather

than repressed by the circumstances of his untimely end [x].

The cruelty of the ruling ecclesiastics did not, however, abate. Other victims were offered at the shrine of superstition and papal tyranny; and some took refuge among foreigners from the fury of the persecution which was raging in their own country. One of those who sealed his conviction with his blood was a Benedictine monk, named Forest, whose fate elicited a shrewd observation, worthy of remembrance. When a debate arose as to the place most eligible for the burning of the alleged heretic, one in the service of the Archbishop of St. Andrew's said, "that it would be best to burn him in a cellar; since the smoke of Mr. Patrick Hamilton's pile had infected with heresy all on whom it blew." Indeed it soon became sufficiently obvious, that these sanguinary proceedings alienated the people from the hierarchy, and induced a general feeling of sympathy for the sufferers, as well as a prepossession in favour of the principles which were so nobly supported. Even the Archbishop of St. Andrews began to see the impolicy of that course which the clergy had adopted; and he suggested the propriety of trying whether the torrent of reform could not be stemmed by milder expedients. But the hands of his coadjutors were red with the blood of their countrymen; and they appeared to think, that the stain could only be washed away by new bar-

[x] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 472.

barities. They, therefore, overruled the Primate's prudent and humane advice, by representing, that if he should draw back from the sanguinary measures in which he had embarked, his sincerity in the cause of the Church would become suspected. Such representations seldom fail of producing their intended effects upon weak or worldly minds, and the Archbishop allowed himself to continue the instrument of perpetrating atrocities from which his conscience shrank[a].

While the country was thus disquieted by the struggle between the hierarchy and the Reformers, it is no wonder that the first named body should have been anxious to prevent their sovereign from journeying to meet his uncle. It is indeed probable, that a partial or total adoption of the English ecclesiastical policy in Scotland, would have relieved James pretty effectually from his embarrassments, both financial and political. Nor could those interested in supporting the existing system conceal from themselves the danger of exposing the King, especially circumstanced as he was, to a personal intercourse with Henry. They, therefore, omitted no persuasion or representation likely to prevent the intended interview; and their influence prevailed. Meanwhile Henry, little anticipating the disappointment which awaited him at York, proceeded towards that ancient city in all the pomp of royalty. His route lay through Lincolnshire, in which county he re-

[a] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 480.

ceived complimentary addresses, and pecuniary presents, from deputations acknowledging his clemency in pardoning the late rebellion. When he crossed the Humber, he found the Yorkshiremen equally loyal and liberal [b]. However, in the midst of these gratifying introductions to the most superstitious of his subjects, he did not stoop to flatter their grovelling prejudices. From Hull a letter was despatched in his name to the Archbishop of Canterbury, enjoining a strict search for all objects prostituted to the purposes of fraud and superstition, and the unsparing removal of tapers before images, monuments of fictitious miracles, and of every thing which served to decoy ignorant people from their homes upon the senseless errand of making a pilgrimage. In obedience to this royal letter, the Archbishop issued commissions for an enquiry after all these mischievous contrivances for cheating the people of their time, their money, and their religion [c]. In the North the King endeavoured, by his personal influence, to break the idolatrous habits of his subjects. He also, upon his arrival at York, issued a proclamation, inviting "all who had been aggrieved for want of justice by any whom he had formerly employed, to come to him and his council for redress." This artifice to gain popularity for the sovereign in a part of his dominions extensively pervaded by discontent, would have been sufficiently excusable, had it not been sea-

[b] Herbert, 228.

[c] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 132.

soned with an allusion to the unhappy minister who had been recently sacrificed. None would doubt, that by the mention of a servant capable of denying justice to the people, the memory of Cromwell was obliquely aspersed. This sentence, therefore, could hardly fail of being considered as an insinuation addressed to those among whom the late Vicar-general's conduct was least popular, that his Sovereign had not cordially concurred in it. This concession to their antipathies, was probably gratefully received by his northern subjects, as Henry appears to have derived from his progress fully as much domestic gratification as he had anticipated. The only drawback upon his satisfaction was the absence of his nephew, who, notwithstanding the hopes of an interview, which his uncle had been led to indulge, and the splendid preparations made for his reception, at length formally declined to quit his own dominions. By this refusal Henry was both disappointed and disgusted; but the Queen seems to have exerted herself to allay the irritation arising from this source; and he returned to Hampton Court at the end of October, vexed indeed by the failure of his political schemes, but gratified by the loyalty of his subjects, and by the fascinating attentions of his consort [d].

On All Saints' day, the uxorious monarch received the Sacrament; and publicly, in the royal chapel, returned his thanks to God for blessing

[d] Herbert, 228.

him with so excellent a Queen. So often, however, does Providence humble the vain confidence of man when it has reached its height, that these excesses of self-congratulation have been considered among the vulgar as ominous of some reverse. Of such a fatality the more credulous of Henry's subjects could not have failed to consider the next incident in his life a striking exemplification. Before he had returned from the North, a man named Lascelles waited upon the Archbishop of Canterbury, and desired a private audience. In this, he said, that he had just returned from paying a visit to a sister of his, who was married in Sussex; that this female, having been formerly servant in the old Duchess of Norfolk's family, and consequently being well known to the present Queen, whose education had been chiefly received in her grandmother's house, had been strongly recommended by him to solicit for some appointment under her Majesty; that, however, his sister positively refused to adopt his advice; and when pressed to assign a motive for conduct seemingly so unreasonable, had alleged the depravity of Catharine's morals. Lascelles proceeded to state, that his curiosity being raised by his relative's unexpected communication, he had made enquiries into the particulars of the Queen's misconduct, and had learnt, in consequence, that she had formed, some years before, a criminal intimacy with Derham, then one of her grandmother's servants; that Mannock, another menial of the family, had mentioned a mark upon her person of

which he could hardly have known, unless he had been one of her guilty paramours; and that from several circumstances which were then disclosed to the Archbishop, it was certain that Catharine's infamy was perfectly notorious among many of those who had formed a part of the old Duchess's establishment. Lascelles concluded his information by declaring, that he was urged to the disclosure by a sense of loyalty towards his sovereign; and that he had waited upon the Archbishop as considering him the individual best fitted, from character and station, to acquaint the King with the depravity of his consort [e].

[e] "For more than twelve months, he (the King) continued to lavish on her (Catharine Howard) tokens of the warmest affection; but the events which led to her elevation had made the Reformers her enemies; and while she accompanied the King in his progress to York, *a plot was woven by their industry*, which brought the young Queen to the scaffold, and weakened the ascendancy of the reigning party. From the testimony of a female servant, Cranmer had discovered that Catharine, while she was yet a single woman, had frequently yielded to the solicitations of Dereham, *a gentleman* in the service of her grandmother. He immediately consulted his friends, the Chancellor, and the Earl of Hertford; and it was determined, that on the King's return, the important but dangerous secret should be disclosed to him by the Archbishop." (Lingard.) Herbert and Burnet are the authorities cited for these statements; but these two do, in fact, resolve themselves into one, because it is evident that the Bishop merely followed the noble historian who preceded him. Now Herbert has not chosen to relate this incident in his own words. He says, "The Queen was supposed to offend in incontinency; some particulars whereof *being extant in our records, I have thought fit to transcribe rather than to make other narration*; the family of which she came being so noble and illustrious, and the

Had Cranmer been a mere politician, the communication, so unexpectedly received, must have

honour of her sex, which is tender, being concerned therein." Then follows the copy of a letter from the privy council, dated November 12, and addressed to Paget, the ambassador at the court of France, detailing the circumstances mentioned in the text above, with many others, some of them, to use Burnet's words, "not fit to be related." This letter is signed by the Chancellor, the Earls of Hertford, Southampton, and Sussex, the Bishop of Winchester, and Anthony Wingfield. Of these counsellors, Southampton, Gardiner, and Wingfield, were noted as staunch Romanists, and therefore not likely to certify the Queen's disgrace unless it had been incontestibly established; especially the Bishop, who had been instrumental in raising her to the throne, who was the main spring of his party, and who constantly displayed uncommon dexterity in avoiding any ostensible part in such transactions as tended to contravene his purposes, or compromise his character. That such men as Gardiner and his friends should have lent themselves to any "*plot woven by the industry of the Reformers,*" is not very likely; nor are the historian's statements complete. From the letter printed by Lord Herbert, it appears that Catharine's amours with Derham did not constitute the whole mass of information given to the Archbishop. It is also worthy of remark, that this "gentleman" in the service of Catharine's grandmother, is merely described as "a servant in my Lady of Norfolk's house." When Dr. Lingard mentions the improbable accusations brought against Anne Boleyn, he designates the groom of the stole, and other members of the royal household, as the Queen's "men servants;" now, however, when the unquestionable paramour of a most degraded female, a man, once a pirate, afterwards an ambiguous sort of letter-carrier and writer, comes upon the stage, he is courteously dismissed as "*a gentleman*" in the old Duchess's service. Perhaps such enquirers as may choose to compare the letter of council, extant in Herbert, with Dr. Lingard's account, will assign, not to the Reformers, but to the Romish historian, the credit of *industrious weaving*.

afforded him sincere satisfaction, as offering the means of crushing a weight of influence which thwarted his designs of reform. A well principled and feeling mind would, however, be unable to dwell upon such a revolting tale of lewdness without serious concern; and no man, not utterly wanting in the best features of humanity, could reflect upon the misery which such a disclosure must inflict upon a friend most affected by it, without being touched with the liveliest uneasiness. Such appear to have been the Primate's feelings. To pass over such intelligence in silence was neither honourable nor safe; the communication of it to the deluded husband was a painful, and if it could not be substantiated, a dangerous measure. Perplexed and distressed by what he had heard, the Archbishop lost no time in communicating it to Audley, the Chancellor, and to the Earl of Hertford, who had been commissioned to conduct the affairs of government in London, during the King's absence in the North. These noblemen fully entered into the Archbishop's feelings, and recommended that the information supplied by Lascelles, should be communicated to the King. They were not, however, inclined to join Cranmer in imparting the unwelcome news; and accordingly he found himself obliged to take upon his own shoulders the whole responsibility attached to this delicate and hazardous affair. Feeling a natural reluctance against making such a disclosure verbally, he then drew up a written statement of what had come to his

knowledge, and put it into the King's hand at mass on All Souls' day. On the preceding day only had Henry returned public thanks for his connubial felicity; and it may be readily supposed that he was slow to believe himself to have been so grievously duped. He at once imagined that his Queen was assailed by that spirit of detraction, which, ranging through every rank for the means of supplying its base gratifications, is certain not to spare those individuals who are most exposed to observation. In the hope of clearing his consort's character, and of punishing her accusers, he commanded the Lord Privy Seal, the Lord Admiral, Sir Anthony Brown, and Sir Thomas Wriothesley, to attend him with all haste and secresy. To these distinguished persons he communicated the document furnished by the Archbishop; and, by their advice, he determined to sift the matter to the bottom. The first step taken was a private examination of Lascelles, by the Lord Privy Seal. From this the King gained no satisfaction; for Lascelles was found consistent in his testimony, and well aware of the danger which he had incurred in accusing a personage so important as the Queen; but, he added, that his sense of duty as a subject would not allow him to conceal a matter in which the honour and happiness of his Prince were so deeply concerned. The enquiry thus far having wholly failed to clear the Queen's character, the Lord Privy Seal was desired to proceed into Sussex, for the purpose of examining in private the sister of Lascelles, with

whom the information originated. As the matter was yet a secret, that officer left London ostensibly for the sake of enjoying a few days' hunting. The spot selected for the sport, was of course near the residence of the woman whose testimony had become so important. Her husband was engaged to attend the sporting party; and preparations were made at her house for the accommodation of some who were to join the chace. By means of this device the woman was examined without the excitement of any suspicion. She proved steady in her relation; and the distinguished sportsman soon returned to court with the mortifying intelligence, that the accusations against the Queen wore every appearance of probability.

While the Privy Seal was thus employed in Sussex, Derham was apprehended in London. This man had been admitted into the Queen's household, and was employed by her Majesty, rather confidentially, in delivering messages, and in writing letters when her secretary chanced to be absent; employments which afforded to him opportunities of obtaining admittance into her private apartments. In order that the apprehension of such a servant should cause neither alarm to the Queen, nor suspicion out of doors, he was arrested upon a charge of piracy. He had been formerly in Ireland, and there, probably, had been notoriously engaged in some of those illegal acts for which great facilities are afforded by a semi-barbarous country. Sir Thomas Wriothesley

was sent to examine this man, and when he had sufficiently frightened him by discovering that his piratical outrages were known to the government, he found himself able to extract a full confession of his illicit amours with the Queen. So fully, indeed, did Derham establish the case under enquiry, that he named three women who, at different times, had lain in the same bed with him and Catharine: one of which females was then bed-chamber woman to her Majesty. Sir Thomas also found the means of secretly examining Mannock; and that person admitted himself to have been in the habit of taking the most indecent liberties with Catharine, even before the commencement of her infamous commerce with Derham.

Thus did the combined enquiries of Wriothesley and the Privy Seal completely establish this unhappy case. The whole mass of information was then reduced to writing, and submitted to the King. Upon no occasion had Henry been observed to discover so much emotion, as after the reading of this document. His situation was, indeed, that which men dread more than any other, at once unhappy and ridiculous. He felt that the domestic felicity in which he had lately exulted was a mere illusion raised by the dupery of an artful woman, and he shrank from the secret scorn that must rise in every breast, when the nice discrimination which he had vaunted, in the case of his last spouse, should be found to have been so grossly baffled immediately after it was

publicly announced. His spirits sank beneath the force of a calamity at once so unexpected and severe. For a time he stood absorbed in thought; at length his rugged nature refused any longer to conceal the conflict of emotions which struggled for a vent, and his courtiers were surprised to see a flood of tears relieve the anguish of his mind. When the burst of passion had in some measure subsided, it was determined that the guilty Queen should be examined by some persons of distinction most in the royal confidence. The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Norfolk[f], the Lord Great Chamberlain, and the Bishop of Winchester, were selected for this important business. In the presence of these illustrious examiners, the Queen persisted in denying the whole of the charges that had been brought against her. But the evidence was far too clear to be shaken by the asseverations of an interested party, and the unhappy Catharine plainly saw that she was not believed. Indeed, she learnt with dismay that all the particulars of her lewd amours were completely discovered, and that competent evidence would assuredly substantiate their truth. Her own denial, therefore, had no chance of screening her fault, although it might aggravate her punishment. Her mind proved unequal to bear the weight of such harassing reflections, and before night she made a

[f] "On what reason I do not know, she (Catharine) withdrew from her uncle (the Duke of Norfolk) and became his enemy," Burnet, Hist. Ref. III. 225.

full confession to the Archbishop of Canterbury[g] of her gross misconduct before marriage; but it is said that she persisted in denying the violation of her nuptial vow[h]. This assertion, however, if made, does not appear probable; for independently of the confidential situation about her person to which she had appointed Derham, a circumstance of great indecency and strong suspicion was found to have occurred during the late royal progress[i]. At Lincoln a gentleman named Culpepper, a cousin, as it seems, by the mother's side[k], was introduced into her chamber at eleven o'clock at night, and left it again about three on the following morning, with a handsome present. The attendant who led this person into the presence of her royal mistress was Lady Rochford[l], a female

[g] "The Queen herself was induced the same night, *by the persuasion of the Archbishop*, to sign a confession." (Lingard.) She might have been so persuaded; but the letter of the council says nothing of the kind. The following are its words: "The matter being so declared unto her, that she perceived it to be wholly disclosed, the same night she disclosed the whole to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who took the confession of the same in writing subscribed with her hand." A confession thus signed is to be found in Burnet. (Records, III. 226.) One object of the Primate, in conducting the examination which produced this humiliating avowal, appears to have been to ascertain whether there had not been some sort of pre-contract between Catharine and Derham. This, however, she denied.

[h] Burnet, Hist. Ref. III. 225.

[i] In August last. Halle.

[k] The name of Catharine's mother was Culpepper. Herbert, 229.

[l] Halle.

against whom a strong prejudice existed on account of her instrumentality in the conviction of her husband and his sister Anne Boleyn. That Culpepper had acted upon this occasion with something worse than indiscretion, must be inferred from his own conduct when brought to trial, as he pleaded guilty to the charge upon which he was arraigned. Derham did the same[m], and these two were speedily executed[n], the former by decapitation, the latter by hanging. Indictments were also preferred against Lord William Howard, the Queen's uncle, and his wife, against the old Duchess of Norfolk, and several persons connected with or dependent upon the disgraced family. All these individuals were found guilty of misprision of treason, as having concealed their knowledge of Catharine's depravity, and were sentenced to imprisonment for life; a fate from which some of them were eventually released by favour of the King[o].

On the 16th of January the Parliament met, and on the 28th the Chancellor moved the House to consider the King's unhappy situation, by reason of his consort's infamous character. In order to lay a foundation for such proceedings as should appear to be necessary, it was voted that the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Duke of Suffolk, the Earl of Southampton, and the Bishop of Westminster, should be sent to examine the unhappy Queen. To these Lords she confessed her

[m] Herbert, 229. [n] November 31. Ibid. [o] Ibid

guilt; but to what extent is not known. The two Houses then offered an address to the King, in which he was besought to moderate his grief, and not to endanger his health by brooding over his domestic afflictions; his troubles, he was told, were also those of his Parliament, and that body was determined to punish as they deserved all the parties implicated in the late disgraceful exposure; a meed of justice to which he was requested, for the sake of sparing his feelings, to abstain from personally giving the royal assent[p]. This address, which was very graciously received[q], was followed up by the attainders of the Queen, of Lady Rochford[r], of Culpepper, and Derham, as principals in the case under consideration; of the Dowager Duchess of Norfolk, of the Countess of Bridgewater, of Lord and Lady William Howard, of four men and of five women in inferior life, who, knowing the Queen's lewdness, had not thought proper to reveal it[s]. These last attainders are certainly very far from creditable to the legislature which voted them; since it could hardly be expected that a grandmother, an uncle,

[p] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 483.

[q] Herbert, 229.

[r] "The bill of attainder of Queen Catharine Howard, stat. 33. Hen. VIII. c. xxi. states, that the Queen had met Culpepper in a secret and vile place, and that at an undue hour of eleven o'clock in the night, and so remained there with him till three of the clock in the morning, none being with them but that *bawd* the Lady Jane Rochford, by whose means Culpepper came thither." Ellis's Letters, II. 67.

[s] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 484.

or an aunt, should step forward, without some very apparent necessity, to blast the character of a young female nearly related to them. Still less was it reasonable to require of persons not particularly concerned, and some of them of humble condition, to assume the invidious and, it might be, perilous situation of informers against a lady upon the point of mounting a throne. These attainders, accordingly, were generally condemned beyond the walls of Parliament[t].

Appended to them was one of those instances of legislative obsequiousness, which, by the frequency of their occurrence in this reign, have caused many persons to imagine that the Parliaments of the day were mere machines, moved at the will of the crown. It was enacted, that whoever should know, or have strong reason to suspect, any lightness of carriage, or incontinence, in one about to be Queen, he was to give notice of it to the King in council, under the pains of treason, but he was not to publish the matter abroad until it should be announced from authority; that if his Majesty, or any one of his successors, should be about to marry a lady reputed to be a virgin, but not so in reality, the said female should declare the true state of the case, under the penalties of treason; and that all who should be acquainted with any deception practised upon this subject without revealing it, should be deemed

[t] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 484.

guilty of misprision of treason[w]. This ridiculous piece of tyranny excited a good deal of merriment among the people. It was jocularly observed, that the Kings of England must for the future marry widows; since they were now furnished with a pretence for ridding themselves of any disagreeable wives not previously married, by charging the obnoxious ladies with having deceived them as to their chastity[x].

On the 13th of February the unhappy Catharine, and her confidante Lady Rochford, were beheaded within the Tower. Both ladies evinced deep contrition[y]; but it is said that the disgraced Queen persisted to the last in denying any unfaithfulness as a wife[z]. Upon the scaffold they desired the spectators to take warning by their miserable fate, which they acknowledged to have been merited by a life of immorality, and by the offences committed against the King[a]. Their

[w] "But this act was repealed, 1 Edward VI. 12, and 1 Mary I." Herbert, 229.

[x] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 485.

[y] Holinshed.

[z] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 484.

[a] Mr. Ellis has printed, in his interesting and important collection, a letter (No. 147.) from Otwell Johnson, who saw this execution, to his brother at Calais. The writer thus details the words of these unhappy females upon the scaffold: "They desired all Christen people to take regard unto their worthy and just punishment with death for their offences, and against God heinously from their youth upward, in breaking all his commandments, and also against the King's Royal Majesty very dangerously." Mr. Ellis's publication had not appeared when

execution excited little or no sympathy among the people. Indeed, Catharine's lewdness was at once indisputable and disgusting; nor even if any believe that adultery was not among her crimes, will it be possible to doubt that she was one of those artful and licentious women who so much tend to undermine the peace and morals of society. As for Lady Rochford, her disgraceful prominence in the proceedings which brought her own husband and her sister-in-law Anne Boleyn to the scaffold, was so fresh in the public mind, that commiseration for her fate was wholly out of the question.

Dr. Lingard wrote his account of these transactions; but Johnson's statement, though more full than any other, is substantially the same as that which is to be seen in all our historians: yet in the face of so much unvarying testimony, the new Romish annalist does not hesitate to say, in a note, of Catharine and her confidante, "I fear that both were sacrificed to the manes of Anne Boleyn."

CHAPTER XI.

Act for the dissolution of colleges and hospitals—Bishop Gardiner proposes in the Convocation to publish a disguised edition of the Bible—A reform of the ritual proposed—Bishop Boner's injunctions to his clergy—Invasion of Scotland—Rout of Solway—Despair and death of James V.—The prisoners sent to London—The Earl of Cassilis assigned to the keeping of Archbishop Cranmer—Subsidies granted in the Parliament and Convocation—An act passed relating to religion—The "Necessary Doctrine" published—An account of that work—Neither party satisfied with it—The King forms an alliance with the Emperor—He marries Catharine Parr—Persecution at Windsor—Disagreements among the preachers in Kent—Some of them presented to the Archbishop—The injudicious manner in which those of Canterbury Cathedral were appointed—Conspiracy against Cranmer—Offences with which he was charged—He is protected by the King—He opens a commission at Feversham—Two new commissioners despatched into Kent—They detect the whole conspiracy—Cranmer's conduct to Thornden and Barber—His forgiving temper—Bishop Gardiner's influence declines—The act of Six Articles modified—The succession regulated—Attack upon Cranmer in the House of Commons—"Defender of the Faith" annexed by the legislature to the royal titles.

DURING the sitting of Parliament it was sufficiently manifest, from the debts openly contracted by the crown, that the royal exchequer was inadequately supplied; but no demand for a subsidy was made by the ministers, and the Commons did not choose to vote money unasked[a].

[a] Rapin, I. 832.

They, however, consented to pass an act which might enable the King to possess himself of the revenues attached to colleges and hospitals. It had been found very difficult to break up these establishments, because their statutes generally provided that no surrender of their property could be made without the concurrence of the whole society. This unanimity was evidently far from likely to be common, and therefore the legislature rendered it immaterial, by annulling the necessity of conforming to such statutes [b].

In the Convocation which sat concurrently with the Parliament, the Romish party made another attempt to stay the progress of scriptural knowledge. Existing English versions of the Bible were again loudly decried as incorrect [c], and it was represented that, in justice to the people, a new revision of the sacred volume was imperiously required. The propriety of such a measure not being denied by the Protestant party, Bishop Gardiner proposed that in the new translation about one hundred terms, which he said the English tongue could not adequately express, should be rendered into Latin [d]. The Con-

[b] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 486.

[c] Another edition of the Bible had, however, been published by authority in the last year, (1541,) "overseen" by Bishop Tunstall of Durham, and Bishop Heath of Rochester, two prelates likely it might seem to challenge Romish confidence. Lewis, 140. Cotton, 7.

[d] The list of these terms requiring, as it was said, a Roman shield for the preservation of their dignity, may be seen in Fuller. (Church Hist. 238.) The following terms selected from

vocation, however, refrained from compromising its character by mocking the nation with the offer of a translation of the Bible rather tending to embarrass than to inform the popular mind. It was at first proposed that the bishops should severally undertake to revise portions of the sacred volume; but, as from their obvious leaning towards the Romish policy, there was reason to doubt their zeal in such an employment; Cranmer moved, that the desired revision should be confided to the two Universities. This proposal elicited fresh opposition from the Romanists. All the bishops, except Goodrich of Ely, and Barlow of St. David's, protested against it. The reputation for learning formerly enjoyed by the Universities, it was asserted, had been much impaired of late; and the men who then took the lead at those celebrated seminaries were described as very unequal, both from unripeness of age and from want of judgment, to prepare such an edition of the sacred writers as might justly claim the confidence of Englishmen. By these representations, however, the Primate was wholly unmoved. He had obtained the King's concurrence in his plan, and the Convocation did not eventu-

this list illustrate sufficiently the mover's object. Ecclesia. Pœnitentia. Pontifex. Contritus. Justitia. Elementa. Adorare. Sacramentum. Simulachrum. Ceremonia. Mysterium. Communio. Presbyter. Sacrificium. Gentilis. Ejicere. Satisfactio. Peccatum. Idolum. Episcopus. Gratia. Charitas. Apostolus. Societas. Mysterium. Idololatria. Confessio. Infidelis. Paganus. Hostia.

ally presume to dispute such high authority. But the triumph gained led to no result. Whatever were the cause, nothing is known to have been done by the Universities at this time towards perfecting the English Bible; and the whole debate is only deserving of notice, inasmuch as it furnishes, not one of the least remarkable, of the many instances which shew the unwillingness of Romanists to allow a free comparison of their tenets with the declarations of that volume which alone forms the universally recognised, and unquestionably safe standard of a Christian's faith [e].

Cranmer had also the merit of drawing the attention of this Convocation to the absurd honours which images still continued to receive. The clumsy attempts to decorate these objects, in which vulgar superstition yet found a vent, were now formally condemned; and the saints of stone, or wood, were for the future to be deprived of their silken vests, and glimmering tapers [f]. Besides obliging the clergy to clear their churches of these unsightly fopperies, the Archbishop proposed a revision of the ritual. He urged the propriety of expunging from the public service all mention of the Pope, and of saints not recorded in Scripture, or in authentic authors; all legendary tales, and every other matter which would not bear to be confronted with the undoubted

[e] Fuller is led from this incident to observe of Gardiner, that "though wanting power to keep the light of the word from shining, he sought, out of policy, to put it into a dark lanthorn."

[f] Collier, II. 185.

Word of God. This proposal, however, appears to have been rather coldly received. With omiting all mention of the Pope, of Becket, and of some other Romish saints, the clergy generally were disposed to rest satisfied. Another year, therefore, was allowed to pass away, and still the service-book was found to vary but very inconsiderably from its old state. At the expiration of that period, Cranmer acquainted the Convocation that he was the bearer of his Majesty's commands, enjoining an immediate revision of the Liturgy. In consequence of this message it was voted, that the Bishops of Ely and Sarum, together with six assistants, three for each prelate, to be selected from the Lower House, should be charged to fulfil the royal pleasure. The inferior clergy, however, declined the nomination of any members from their own body for this purpose[s]; and the projected revisal was either not attempted at all, or very slightly performed. Indeed, to the end of Henry's reign, the liturgical books in use before his rupture with Rome, were allowed, with a few omissions or erasures, to direct the public devotions. Another motion of the Protestant party, offered to the Convocation of this year, also failed of success. The Lord Chancellor Audley submitted to the consideration of the Upper House a bill, which he proposed to lay before Parliament, intended to enable married men to act as chancel-

[s] "A gentle refusal to have any thing to do therein." Strype, Eccl. Mem. I. 580.

lors in the diocesan courts, and to exercise in an effective manner the functions of that office. This bill, however, was highly disapproved by the prelates; and, by their instances, the Chancellor was induced to abandon the design of introducing it to the House of Lords [h].

Amidst this stiffness in maintaining established usages, the Upper House of Convocation was not wholly unmindful of a more liberal policy. It was ordered there, that on every Sunday and holiday throughout the year, the officiating minister of every parish should read to his congregation a chapter, in English, out of the Bible, after the *Te Deum* and *Magnificat*. He was not, however, to accompany his reading by any comment; and he was to read in succession all the chapters in the Sacred Volume [i].

About this time Boner issued, for the direction of his clergy, some injunctions [k], by which they were directed to study the New Testament at the rate of at least one chapter in each day, and to commit what they read to memory, so as to be able to bear an examination upon it, if called upon for that purpose, by the Bishop; to preach no sermon written within the last two or three hundred years [l], but to take the Epistle or Gospel

[h] Collier, II. 186.

[i] Strype, Eccl. Mem. I. 580.

[k] Printed by Burnet, Hist. Ref. Appendix, I. 367.

[l] It might appear from the words of the injunction, that the clergy of that time delivered their sermons from memory. They are commanded to "rehearse no sermons made by other men

of the day, of which, under the guidance of some Catholic doctor, allowed by the Church of England, they were to deliver a plain exposition, without diverging into any novelties of opinion; and to suffer no dramatic representations in their churches or chapels. From these directions it seems, that the people of London would no longer endure the meagre or superstitious declamations which had sounded from the pulpit during the ages immediately preceding their own, but desired such instruction as was drawn from the undoubted Word of God; a species of preaching, however, it appears, for which the mass of the clergy was but little qualified; while those who were not thus incompetent, exerted their talents on the reforming side. From such a state of things few men of ordinary discernment could fail of drawing comparisons greatly to the disadvantage of the Roman Church; it is, therefore, no wonder that Boner should have been willing to exhibit the humiliating spectacle of sending, as it were, his clergy once more to school, rather than

within this 200 or 300 years." About this time, however, Collier says, the custom of reading sermons began in England. He informs us, that the usage took its rise from the trouble into which the preachers of that agitated period were sometimes brought by means of informations laid against them for the delivery of exceptionable matter in their discourses. "To guard, therefore, against malice, or bad memory in the informers, the preachers wrote their discourses, and read them. And from hence the reading of sermons grew customary in England. And thus the matter makes amends for the coldness of the delivery; and what is lost in the sound is gained in the sense." Eccl. Hist. II. 187.

allow them to injure, by their glaring insufficiency, the cause which he had undertaken to support. The injunction levelled against the theatrical shews, then usual in places set apart for public worship, is also worthy of remark. Adopting in this instance, as in several others, the practice of Paganism, the Roman Church had been used occasionally to entertain the vulgar with scenic representations. The personages and incidents that figured in their mythology, pourtrayed upon the stage, formed the most interesting feature in the celebration of a holiday among the people of ancient Greece. The legendary tales of saints, and even the hallowed circumstances of human redemption, were, in like manner, under the name of mysteries, exhibited in dramatic form to the delighted eyes of the western Christians during the middle ages. But as it had been found that some able and enlightened ministers had turned the duty of preaching from the relation of fictitious wonders, and the magnifying of observances which had fallen into disrepute, to the more invigorating purpose of exciting a spirit of religious enquiry among the people; so it was likewise found, that individuals were not wanting to convert the theatrical amusements hitherto allowed in churches, into farcical caricatures levelled against the Roman religion and her ministers [m].

[m] "Fuit is seculi mos, ut rythmis et repræsentationibus scenicis, variisque comicis actibus, cum vitam, tum mores monachorum et ecclesiasticorum exagitarent, atque plebis et politicorum ludibrio exponerent, sæpe non sine manifesto locorum quorundam

As to the effect to be anticipated from the prevalence of such a system, there could be no doubt. Those who would not hear, or who could not understand, a train of argument, would eagerly flock to a church, in which what had been used to lay them under restraint, was now to find them food for mirth; and would hardly fail of bringing to their own homes a full conviction that the object which they had seen burlesqued, was at least as contemptible as its satirists had made it appear. Hence the Romanists found themselves obliged to proscribe an engine, which though excellently adapted to captivate the vulgar sense, was now discovered to be wholly unmanageable.

In the autumn of this year the English invaded Scotland. Henry, in addition to the disgust which he had conceived from his nephew's refusal to meet him at York, was now concerned, upon principles of sound policy, to weaken his northern neighbour. His own good understanding with Francis was interrupted, and hence he was naturally anxious to prevent that monarch from finding an effective ally within the limits of Britain. In order to cut off such a prospect from the French court, it was determined to attack the Scots before they could receive succours from abroad. Preparations for the contest were accordingly

SS. in rem ludicram adductorum abusu." (Gerdes, Hist. Evang. Renov. IV. 315. annot. in c. CIV.) From the same author we learn, that this practice prevailed in Flanders, where, as in England, it was turned by some of the Reformers into an engine for weakening the credit of Romanism. Vide tom. III. p. 117.

made with diligence, but with as much secresy as is attainable in such cases. The movement, however, could not escape the anxious observation of the Scottish cabinet; and ambassadors were despatched from James to London, for the purpose of claiming an explanation of the threatening attitude assumed by England. Under different pretences, an answer to these enquiries was eluded, and the negociation was purposely protracted, until the English army commenced its march towards the North. Meanwhile the gathering storm furnished, as usual, an opening for the display of individual violence and cupidity. The lawless plunderers, who then infested the now happy borders of the two kingdoms, eagerly commenced their inroads upon the property of their alien neighbours. The peaceful traders of North Britain saw ruin staring them in the face from the capture of their little vessels by the English cruisers, who gladly put to sea. These ordinary preludes to greater calamities, were speedily followed by the advance of an English army, twenty thousand strong, under the Duke of Norfolk, and accompanied by the flower of England's aristocracy. The King of Scotland, justly alarmed at the approach of a host so formidable, endeavoured to gain time by negociation; and the hostile force was thus delayed awhile at York. But as diplomacy has little chance of changing the purpose of an enemy prepared for action, and sanguine of success, it was soon determined that the Scottish ambassadors offered nothing satisfactory. The

English now rapidly moved towards the border; and as their unfortunate neighbours were wholly unprepared for effectual resistance to such a force, Henry's standard was soon unfurled on foreign ground. The spectacle of smoking habitations, and a ruined peasantry, so often lost upon the besotted and unfeeling heart of man, now once more proclaimed the folly and the guilt of offensive war. In order to palliate these inroads upon domestic comfort and honest industry, the invading general issued a manifesto, in which the stale pretence of homage due, but not afforded, to the English crown, was supported by a long historical detail, and in which were also stated Henry's dissatisfaction towards his nephew, the countenance given by James to some traitors from the South, and his occupancy of some trifling strips of territory, which were claimed by England [n].

The invaded monarch answered these complaints by preparations for resistance. He levied forces, and hastened, at their head, to meet his enemy. His own wish was to commit at once his fortunes to the issue of a battle; but the attendant nobles wisely overruled his rash intention; representing to him the great superiority of the English, and the advantage afforded to themselves by the lateness of the season [o], as well as by the exhausted state of the country; obstacles to which the enemy would soon be obliged to yield, even

[n] Herbert, 233.

[o] The English entered Scotland on the 21st of October. Ibid.

without a blow on their part. These prudent counsels were, however, heard by James with stern impatience, for his mind had sunk into that state of morbid irritability, which renders a man deaf to the dictates of sound judgment. His situation had long been embarrassing; it now appeared almost desperate. Early dissipation had unnerved him, and his too susceptible frame was ever agitated by the imaginary presence of a phantom, in which he recognised the Duke of Albany, a relative whom he had unjustly put to death [p]. This wretched state of spirits made him shrink from contradiction. The prudence of his warlike peers he stigmatised as cowardice and disaffection; and he carried his disgust so far as even to withdraw from the main body of his army. Whilst thus retired in gloomy discontent, he brought on the crisis of his unhappy campaign by the appointment of commander in chief, which he conferred upon Oliver Sinclair, a favourite of his, whom the people hated. Vain of his new command, the minion hastened to the head-quarters of the forces, and there ordered the patent, recently granted in his favour, to be publicly read. The turbulent and discontented chieftains heard this new proof of their sovereign's infatuation with scorn and anger. Disgust, disorganization, and want of confidence, stalked throughout the camp. While thus an undirected multitude, rather than an army, the Scots were panic-stricken

[p] Rapin, I. 833.

at the sudden appearance of an English force upon the summit of a neighbouring hill. It was merely a detachment, five hundred strong, which had been ordered to watch the motions of the enemy; but James's troops having already begun to disband, felt themselves wholly unequal to resistance; and their overpowering fears conjured up the phantom of Norfolk, with all his host, now close upon them. Their flight was instantaneous; and their extreme disorder lured on the English to a spirited pursuit. In this disastrous rout, for battle there was none, many a bold Scot met no honourable death: more than a thousand prisoners, twenty-four pieces of ordnance, and a considerable quantity of military stores, fell into the hands of the victors. It was on Solway Moss that the Scottish army thus yielded to causeless apprehension[q]; and from that memorable field did the exulting band, so unexpectedly conspicuous, return to join their comrades with two or three captives under the care of nearly every man[r]. Among these sufferers by the fortune of war were the Earls of Cassilis and Glencairn, five noblemen of inferior rank, the favourite whose ill-omened appointment appears to have been the proximate cause of the mischief, and at least two hundred other persons of some importance[s].

This overwhelming calamity filled up the mea-

[q] On the 24th of November. Speed.

[r] "Yea some women had three or four prisoners." Holinshed.

[s] Herbert, 233.

sure of James's unhappiness. He exclaimed, that he was betrayed; and instead of arousing every energy of his mind to alleviate the difficulties into which he had fallen, he vented the bitterness of his feelings in denunciations of vengeance against his defeated chieftains. While thus yielding to anger and dejection, he learnt that a gross infraction of the law of nations had been committed by a man who enjoyed his countenance and protection. The Duke of Norfolk had thought, that after the recent rout, a negociation might be opened to advantage with the enemy; and he despatched a herald for the purpose of announcing his willingness to treat. With the forward animosity of one who has turned his back upon his country, a man named Leach, once bailiff of Louth, in Lincolnshire, now a refugee among the Scots, murdered the English messenger. James's wounded spirit could not brook this new disgrace. A load of anguish and dejection so weighed down his shattered frame, that the vital powers rapidly became unequal to sustain the conflict. While life still lingered, the news of his queen's safe delivery reached his quarters. It was hoped, as he was childless, that this intelligence might revive his drooping spirits; and the news indeed aroused him: he eagerly raised himself, and enquired the sex of his child. It was a female, he was told. On hearing this, he turned himself in his bed, and mournfully observed: "The crown came with a woman, and it will go with one. Many mischiefs await this poor kingdom. Henry will make it his

own, either by force of arms, or by marriage[t]." Being thus disappointed in the single earthly object from which he had conceived a hope of extracting satisfaction, he soon sank under the intensity of his sufferings[u]. He had only attained the age of thirty-two; but his span of life had been sufficiently extended for the display of such talents and refinement as would, under more favourable circumstances, have obtained for him a distinguished reputation among the monarchs of his age. The child, whose birth[x] proved so unwelcome to her parent, was afterwards known to the world as Mary, Queen of Scots; a name and designation which recal to the mind a train of incidents far more chequered and interesting than a faithful picture of human life will commonly supply. Her father's prediction was not indeed verified in the person of this unfortunate princess. But happily both for her countrymen, and for their southern neighbours, though Henry's design to marry the young queen, so as to unite the two divisions of the island, proved abortive, the eventual failure of his progeny rendered it unnecessary. Under the rule of Mary's son, a race of men descended from the same ancestors, speaking the same language, and protected by the same ocean-wall from foreign aggression, ceased at length to obstruct their own happiness and pros-

[t] Hume.

[u] December 14. (Herbert.) Holinshed says, "the King of Scots died of a hot ague."

[x] She was born December 7. Ibid.

perity by remaining any longer unnaturally divided into two different communities; they have since that time gradually become blended into one mighty nation, which appears destined to diffuse the light of sound religious and political knowledge throughout the world.

When the prisoners taken from the Scots arrived at the English head-quarters, it was thought advisable by the noble commander to send those of most distinction to York. From that interesting city they were conducted with considerable parade to London. The death of James within three weeks of the rout of Solway, and the birth of an heiress to his throne, which preceded by a few days her unhappy father's demise, had naturally suggested to Henry the obvious policy of terminating the ruinous spirit of hostility, which so often raged between the two great divisions of the island, by means of a marriage between his own son and the infant Queen of Scotland. He, therefore, determined to receive his prisoners in such a manner as must appear liberal and conciliatory. Accordingly, they were permitted to enter London decorated with their national cognizance, the cross of St. Andrew[y]. They were indeed lodged in the Tower, but their imprisonment there lasted only two days; after which they received presents of black damask gowns, trimmed with fur, and in these handsome habiliments were conducted to the Star-chamber[z]. There the

[y] Herbert, 234. [z] December 21. Ibid.

Chancellor, after addressing to them a slight reproof, and a detail of such reasons as his master chose to assign for making war, concluded by saying, that if they would pledge their honour to abstain from plotting their escape, they should not be again immured within the Tower, but should be entertained in a kind of honourable captivity, at some of the noblest houses in England. The pledge required was readily given, and the captured chieftains retired from Westminster to take their fill of old English hospitality. Upon the third day in the Christmas holidays they were invited to partake of a royal banquet at Greenwich[a]. So much mirth and liberality could hardly fail to win their hearts; and, accordingly, when requested to promote a marriage between their own infant Queen and the Prince of Wales, they readily assented. At length, after engaging to give hostages, and under a promise to return, should the proposed arrangements be found impracticable, they were permitted to quit their gentle keepers for their own homes[b]. Enfield was made the first resting-place on their journey towards the North. There the young Prince resided, and with him they took a farewell dinner[c].

One of the most distinguished among the Scottish captives, Gilbert Kennedy, Earl of Cassilis, spent the greater part of his forced residence in England under the Archbishop of Canterbury's

[a] Speed. [b] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 496. [c] Holinshed.

hospitable roof. The arrangement proved a source of mutual satisfaction both to the Earl and to his excellent host. Many of the Scots were prejudiced against the Reformation, because it had been partially adopted by their hereditary foes, the English. While Lord Cassilis was enjoying Cranmer's cheerful and intelligent society, he however became convinced, that no political antipathies ought to restrain his countrymen from breaking off communion with the Roman Church[d]. He saw that the characters of the English Reformers had been misrepresented on his own side of the Tweed, and that their object was only to restore that form of the Catholic faith, which is unquestionably built on the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, and which, at no very remote period, the Roman Bishops had succeeded, by means of worldly policy, in almost banishing from the west of Europe. Hence, when the noble Scot returned to his own home, he became anxious to remove from the eyes of his countrymen the film which had fallen from his own. Nor did he fail to evince that intimate union which ever subsists between sound religion and strict morality. When the captured peers arrived in Scotland, they found themselves unable to carry through the measures which, before their departure from London, they had undertaken to support. They felt, however, but little inclination to redeem their pledge; and their only uneasiness respecting this breach of

[d] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 140.

faith, seems to have been upon the score of the hostages who were left at the mercy of the English court. But Lord Cassilis had learnt better things during his abode in the South. When he found that all his endeavours to promote the marriage of his sovereign with the Prince of Wales, were wholly unavailing, he returned to London, and surrendered himself. The King was highly gratified by this honourable conduct. He compared the Earl to Regulus; but his conduct towards him formed a striking contrast to that which the Carthaginians are said to have adopted towards the magnanimous Roman. Lord Cassilis was generously released from his engagement, and sent back to Scotland, attended by his hostages[e], and complimented by such splendid presents as unquestionable integrity might justly claim from royal munificence[f].

The expences which the King had incurred in the Scottish expedition, and his preparations for a French war, now rendered it necessary to call a Parliament. This important body assembled on the 22d of January, and granted liberal subsidies to the crown. The clergy, as was usual while the Convocation was allowed to act, exceeded in this respect their fellow subjects of the laity: they imposed upon all beneficed men a tax of six shillings in the pound upon the amount of their preferments; which impost was to continue during

[e] Who were his own brothers. Herbert, 235.

[f] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 502.

three years. Unbeneficed clergymen were to pay during these years an annual sum of six shillings and eight-pence [s].

In this Parliament was passed an act relating to religious controversies. The preamble sets forth a statement of evils asserted to have flowed from the unrestrained use of the Scriptures. In order to remedy these disorders, it was enacted that a form of belief consonant to Scripture, and to the doctrine of the Catholic Church, should be compiled and published: which, when done, should direct the preaching of the clergy; of whom any one maintaining an opinion contrary to it, was, for the first offence, to recant; for the second, to abjure and bear a faggot; for any subsequent relapse, to be burnt as a heretic, and to forfeit all his goods. The same act denounces Tyndale's scriptural labours, and forbids the circulation of them, together with that of all works inculcating doctrines at variance with those set forth by authority. Versions of Scripture subsequent to Tyndale's were still allowed to circulate, provided that these were deprived of prefaces and annotations. This licence to read the Bible, however, was conceded only to noblemen, gentlemen, merchants, and the wives of such persons: all in lower stations were no longer to be allowed the use of Scripture, even although unattended by those marginal attacks upon Popery which occasioned so much apprehension and offence to its

[s] Herbert, 238.

abettors. Amidst these restraints upon the freedom of religious enquiry, stands a proviso referring to a curious particular in the customs of the time. The Lord Chancellor, field officers, the judges, or other public functionaries, were still permitted to head their addresses by a text of Scripture; but they were to abstain from deducing any doctrine from it at variance with the authorised summary. In those days it was usual with men in conspicuous stations, whether lay or clerical, to open their speeches, like a sermon, with some passage from Holy Writ[h].

The exposition of faith and morals, compiled under parliamentary sanction, made its appearance in May[i]. It appears to have been examined and approved in detail by the Convocation[k]. The basis of the work is the "Institution," published in 1537, and familiarly known as the "Bishops' Book." The new treatise is entitled, "A Necessary Doctrine and Erudicion for any Christen Man;" and it was generally called the "King's Book," probably on account of the interest and concern which Henry took in its compilation[l].

[h] Collier, II. 188.

[i] Both in quarto and duodecimo. It was issued from the press of Berthelet the King's printer.

[k] Strype, Eccl. Mem. I. 583. Archbishop Laurence (Bamp. Lect. Notes on Serm. I. p. 200.) confirms this fact by citing Wilkins, Concil. Mag. Brit.

[l] Strype (Mem. Cranm. p. 143.) says that this designation flowed from Gardiner. "Which Bishop, politicly as well as flatteringly, called it *the King's Book*, a title which the Archbishop did not much like; for he knew well enough that Win-

The introduction to this work contains the following apology for the restraint upon reading the Scriptures recently imposed by Parliament. "It must be agreed that, for the instruction of this part of the Church whose office it is to teach others, the having, reading, and studying of holy Scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament, is not only convenient, but also necessary. But for the other part of the Church ordained to be taught, it ought to be deemed, certainly, that the reading of the Old and New Testament is not so necessary for all those folks, that of duty they ought to be bound to read it, but as the Prince and the policy of the realm shall think convenient, so to be tolerated or taken from it. Consonant whereunto, the politic law of our realm hath now restrained it from a great many; esteeming it sufficient for those so restrained, to hear and truly bear away the doctrine of Scripture taught by the preachers."

chester's hand was in it: and so he told him plainly in King Edward's time, when he might speak his mind; telling him in relation thereunto, that *he had seduced the King*." That Bishop Gardiner had exerted himself considerably upon the occasion of this compilation, and was tolerably well satisfied with the result, may be collected from a letter which he wrote to the Vice-chancellor of the University of Cambridge, from London, fourteen days before the "Erudicion" was published; in which he says that "the King's Majesty hath, *by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost*, componed all matters of religion." (Strype, Eccl. Mem. I. Appendix, 482.) The work, however, is Lutheran in the main, and the Romish alloy which pervades it was, probably, chiefly introduced by Gardiner's persuasions, with a view on the King's part to gratify the Emperor.

The table of contents exhibits the following articles:—I. The Declaration of Faith. II. The Articles of our Belief, called the Creed. III. The Seven Sacraments. IV. The Ten Commandments. V. Our Lord's Prayer, called the *Pater Noster*. VI. The Salutation of the Angel, called the *Ave Maria*. VII. An Article of Free Will. VIII. An Article of Justification. IX. An Article of Good Works. X. Of Prayer for Souls departed.

Of the whole treatise, no part appears to have occupied Cranmer's attention more earnestly than the exposition of faith. As this is the foundation of all religion, he was desirous that it should be solidly laid. The subject, however, was at that time commonly treated in a very crude manner. It was indeed, in a great measure, new to the mass of men. While the Church of Rome retained an almost exclusive sovereignty over the western Christians, little was heard respecting faith. A blind deference to ecclesiastical authority was generally considered as the foundation of religious obedience; but when, at length, the anxious eye of serious men was directed to the sacred volume of inspiration, no truth appeared more plain than that justification is derived through faith. This doctrine, however, has been always found a source of error and mischief in the hands of indiscreet or hypocritical interpreters; and, accordingly, the time of the Reformation, like every other agitated period in the history of Christianity, produced teachers who made faith so prominent as to throw good works into the

shade. The Romanists eagerly exposed the evil of this perversion; and although judicious Protestants unequivocally declared that faith, unfruitful in good works, is not the principle to which Scripture promises salvation, yet even then the contest was not terminated. Among the mischievous corruptions of the dark ages, was the doctrine which taught that masses, and other ritual or penitential observances, were not only good works, but were even of higher value in the sight of God than moral duties. At this time the broad avowal of such a doctrine would excite the contempt rather than the serious notice of the Christian world; but at the period when men first awoke from the lethargy into which the gross superstition and false philosophy of several centuries had plunged the human mind, this, like other unsound principles which would now be at once abandoned, was fiercely contested. Cranmer, therefore, being anxious to furnish his countrymen with the best information upon this subject, desired Dr. Redmayn[m] to prepare a concise exposition of faith according to the best authorities. In consequence, that able theologian drew up a statement to the following effect: "That the word faith is used in Scripture in two different senses—the one being a persuasion of the truths of natural and revealed religion impressed upon the mind by the agency of God's Holy Spirit; the other, being such a persuasion of

[m] "Who was esteemed the most learned and judicious divine of that time." Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 444.

these things as produces a submission to the Divine will, and the exercise of hope and charity: that this latter is the faith of Abraham, the faith which, 'working by love,' is so highly commended by St. Paul, and which alone has the promise of justification."

Satisfactory as was this exposition, Cranmer was not disposed to acquiesce implicitly in the result of any man's labours, however highly he might appreciate them. With that patient industry and earnest desire to fulfil the important duties of his station, by which he was distinguished through life, he laboured himself to attain a correct notion upon the subject of faith. For this purpose he undertook a diligent search into the works of the Greek and Latin fathers, and into those of approved divines during the middle ages. Indeed, he never marred any of his designs by either indolence or precipitancy. The fruit of his enquiries upon justification by faith, was an ample collection of passages upon that subject, selected both from Scripture and from eminent profane writers. This mass of information is thus concluded in the Archbishop's own words: "Although all that be justified must of necessity have charity as well as faith; yet neither faith nor charity be the worthiness nor merits of our justification; but that is only to be ascribed to our Saviour Christ, who was offered upon the cross for our sins, and rose again for our justification[n]."

[n] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 445.

In the "Necessary Doctrine" it is evident that Dr. Redmayn's labours formed the basis of what is said upon faith. That principle is there described as twofold; dead and speculative, therefore unavailing; or lively and fruitful in good works, hence such as will lead to heaven. With respect to feeling an assurance of salvation, it is taught that no such confidence appears capable of deriving support from Scripture or from eminent divines, and that it is invalidated by the frailty of man, as well as by the need which is pressed upon Christians of continual vigilance, in order to fight the good fight of faith. The comfort, therefore, which religious people are to expect in their profession, is explained rather as arising from a consciousness of doing their duty, than from a conviction of possessing such a principle as must infallibly save their souls.

In the exposition of the Creed, it is inculcated that the Virgin Mary "retained her virginity pure and immaculate" to the end of her life. The Church is said to be called Catholic, because, though established in different regions, and distinguished variously according to their several names, she professes one universal faith, and has the promise of the same grace. It is added, that the designation of Catholic nowise belongs to the Church as being subject to a single prelate, and that no such opinion ever would have prevailed, had not the Bishops of Rome, by means of worldly policy, imposed upon princes ignorant of God's word.

Respecting the Sacraments, the Romish party

obtained a decided advantage in this publication, Cranmer earnestly contended for the Lutheran system in this particular [o], but the King desired at that time to concede something to the Emperor's prejudices, or policy, and the Romanist's prevailed. The Sacraments, therefore, are said to be seven in number. Baptism is naturally mentioned first; and in the observations upon it, the doctrine of original sin is fully maintained. Under the head of penance, it is declared that all the benefits of absolution depend upon the penitent's faith. In what is said of the Eucharist, as might be expected from the actual sentiments of all the compilers, transubstantiation, though represented as somewhat of a staggering doctrine, is broadly maintained. Under the head of Matrimony are found some excellent practical reflections, and a table of prohibited degrees. As to Orders, it is asserted, that although the Christian ministry is of Divine institution, yet the regulation of its exercise is left wholly to the civil magistrate. This is succeeded by a long dissertation upon the Papacy, in which it is shewn that St. Paul, with others of the Apostles, admitted no pre-eminence in St. Peter, and that neither the early councils, nor the fathers, recognized the supremacy of the Roman see. Confirmation and Extreme Unction are said to be sacraments administered by the Apostles, and derived from them; but although very important, not of such necessity as that, without them, men cannot be saved.

[o] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 447.

In treating of the Ten Commandments, the Second is given thus: "Thou shalt not have any graven image, nor any likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the water under the earth, *to the intent to do any godly honour and worship unto them.*" Cranmer, probably, refused peremptorily to suffer this commandment to be any longer wholly blotted out from the Decalogue [p], but he might not be able

[p] In order to shew the manner in which our ancestors were formerly kept from the knowledge graciously vouchsafed by God to man, the following metrical paraphrase of the Decalogue is extracted from the principal book of public devotions in use during the Romish period.

"I. Thou shalt worship one God only,
And love him with thy heart perfectly.
II. God in vain swear not wilfully,
Ne by no thing that he made verily.
III. The Sunday keep and hallow holily,
Hearing God's service devoutly.
IV. Fader and moder honour thou lowly,
And in their need help them gladly.
V. Slee thou no man maliciously,
Nor thereto consent wittingly.
VI. Thou shalt not do no lechery,
But with thy wife in wedlock only.
VII. Thy neighbour's goods steal not falsely,
Nor no thing withhold untruly.
VIII. False witness bear thou not slyly,
Nor false record for none envy.
IX. Other men's wives keep not fleshly,
Ne other woman to hold carnally.
X. Other men's goods covet not lightly,
Nor hold from them unrightfully."

Missale ad Usum Ecclesiæ Sarisburiensis. 1534.

to prevent it from going forth garbled and qualified, so as to give the Romish party some hope

In an approved modern book of Romish devotion, containing numerous religious pieces, and among them the Athanasian Creed, the Ten Commandments are omitted. In their stead is given what purports to be a paraphrase of them. Thus stands the Second: "2. We must fly all idolatry, all false religion and superstition, under which names are comprehended all manner of divinations, or pretensions to fortune-telling; all witchcraft, charms, spells, observations of omens, dreams, &c. All these things are heathenish, and contrary to the worship of the true and living God, and to that dependance a Christian soul ought to have on him." (Challoner's Garden of the Soul, 1824, p. 18.) In the same book (p. 208.) begins "An examination of conscience upon the Ten Commandments." In this, as in the old metrical version of the Decalogue, "II." relates only to swearing and profaneness, while "IX." relates only to concupiscence. The following is the mode of accounting for this management, supplied by a tract, to which Protestants are now directed for an explanation of Popery. "And though in some short catechisms in which the *whole* Christian doctrine is delivered in the most compendious and easy method, *in condescension to weak memories and low capacities, the Second Commandment, as it is reckoned by some, be omitted*; yet it is to be seen at length in other catechisms, manuals, and doctrinal books, to be met with every where in great plenty. And if any one should chance not to see any of these, yet he would be out of all danger of falling into superstitious worship or idolatry; for that having read the First Commandment, *Thou shalt have no other God before me*, he is taught by this that he is commanded to serve, love, adore, and worship one only true, living, and eternal God, and no more: that it is forbidden him to worship any creature for a God, or to give it the honour due to God; and that whosoever worships any idols, images, pictures, or any graven thing, whatsoever the object be, whether in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the waters under the earth, for God, breaks the commandment by committing idolatry, and stands guilty of an inexcusable and

of saving their character. But whatever might be the motives, or whoever might be the author of this compromise, it furnishes matter for important reflection. If any person doubt the idolatrous nature of Romish worship, let him observe the manner in which those who direct it shrink from the Second Commandment. Under the Third Commandment, men are admonished to abstain from invoking any saint for the supply of

most damnable sin. Now having been taught that this is the intent of the first precept of the Decalogue, he thinks that there can be but little danger of his becoming superstitious in his worship, or an idolater, for want of the second; *there being nothing in this but what he is fully and expressly instructed in, by having learned the first; it being rather an explication of this than any new and distinct precept:* and for this reason he finds them in his books put together as one, or rather as the First Commandment, with its explication; by which means it comes about, that there are only three in the first table, teaching him his duty towards God; and seven in the latter, concerning his duty to his neighbour; which is the division assigned by St. Augustin. And though St. Jerom observes not this method, but divides them into four and six; yet there being no direction in Scripture concerning the number of the commandments to be assigned to each table, nor to let us know which is the first, which is the second, which the third, and which the last commandment; *he is taught* that it is an unnecessary trouble to concern himself about the number or division of them, whereas his whole business ought to be the observance of them in his life and conversation." (A Papist misrepresented and represented: selected from the original of the Rev. John Gother: republished by the late Ven. and R. R. Richard Challoner, D.D. Lond. 1825. p. 58.) Protestants have been lately asked, What are the benefits of the Reformation? Perhaps this note will go some way towards answering the question.

a want, but they are encouraged to intreat blessed spirits for the aid of their prayers. The Fourth Commandment gives occasion for remarking, that the sabbatical rest was obligatory upon the Jews particularly, but that, notwithstanding, Christians should abstain on Sundays from any works but those of manifest expediency or absolute necessity. The remainder of the Decalogue furnishes nothing particularly worthy of observation; but the several discourses are conceived in a strain of manly thinking and sound morality, which could not fail of diffusing much intellectual and moral light throughout the kingdom.

In treating of the *Pater Noster*, it is rationally observed that ignorant people ought to pray in their mother tongue, both because they have thereby a better prospect of being moved to true devotion, and because their hearts will thus be likely to accompany their lips. In this part of the work it is said, that by "daily bread," among other things, "may we understand the holy Sacrament of the altar, the very flesh and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ." Under the *Ave Maria*[q] are detailed the particulars of our Lord's incarnation.

The free will of man is inferred from the various exhortations to obedience contained in Scripture. The human will, however, is said never to desire what is truly acceptable to God, unless it

[q] Thus rendered into English: "Hail Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with thee; blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb."

be directed by Divine grace. Nor even after grace has been received, will men, it is taught, do their duty, unless they are constantly and earnestly intent upon it. The whole article is very judicious, and steers happily between the presumption of those who are confident in their own strength to reach the highest degree of moral perfection accessible to man, and the dangerous enthusiasm of those who would represent human nature as the mere sport of an irresistible necessity. The whole is concluded by an admonition, particularly addressed to preachers, to look on both sides of "this high matter," for the purpose of so treating it, as neither by over-extolling God's grace to annihilate man's will, nor by injudiciously magnifying free-will to depreciate the Divine operations.

Justification, it is taught, became necessary in consequence of Adam's fall, which entailed upon all his posterity a moral frame defective in that righteousness originally conferred upon him. By justification, it is said, men are made righteous in the sight of God, cease to be children of wrath and heirs of damnation, and become children of God, and heirs of everlasting life. This benefit, however, does not flow from the deeds of men, but only from the satisfaction of Christ; who, nevertheless, has left a rule of life, which all, desiring to attain the advantages of his passion, must follow. Justification, it is continued, is conferred upon infants by means of baptism, afterwards lost by means of sin committed in adult age, and there-

fore penance is necessary for its renewal. But although the obtainment of this benefit through faith alone is carefully inculcated, it is also declared at great length, that the persuasion required is one fruitful in good works; not, however, in such works as ascetics chiefly value, but in the undeniable excellencies of sound morality, which, though by no means the price of a true believer's salvation, are the never-failing marks of his obedience.

The concluding section of the treatise is upon "Prayer for Souls departed." This is recommended as good and charitable, and it is asserted to have been in use from the foundation of the Church. In this assertion only, however, have the compilers departed from their general caution: for they have not ventured to pronounce that the prayers of the living are certain to profit the dead. Indeed they have left good reason for supposing that they doubted upon this subject, as they advise that masses, intended for the solace of the departed, be performed for "the universall congregation of Christen people, quick and dead." Nor have they presumed to determine any thing respecting the abode and condition of departed souls; they indeed unequivocally declare these things to be uncertain, and therefore recommend, that the use of the word "purgatory" be wholly discontinued.

"The Necessary Doctrine," considered altogether, furnishes a remarkable illustration of the state into which Henry's mind had fallen respect-

ing religion. The solid learning and unblemished integrity of Cranmer, had given a weight to his arguments, which his sovereign could not resist; and therefore doctrines recommended from such high authority, formed the basis of every religious work published with the royal sanction. Probably, however, the King was not entirely purged from the leaven of early prejudices; certainly he was now disposed to conciliate the Emperor's good will[r]: hence he allowed his Romish advisers to obtain his concurrence in a partial prohibition of Scripture, and in the recommendation of some distinctions belonging to their sect. This alloy of sentiments, at variance with those which chiefly swayed in the compilation of "the Necessary Doctrine," renders it, like the other religious pieces promulgated from authority in this reign, somewhat of a motley production; and, accordingly, when it was published, again neither party was satisfied.

An intimate connexion between Henry and the

[r] Charles, with respect to religion, might be reasonably represented in Henry's council as standing upon different grounds from the King of France. The latter had expressed an intention of imitating the English example in shaking off the papal yoke. One of the causes alleged by the King for entering upon a French war at this time, was, "that he (Francis) had not deserted the Bishop of Rome, and consented to a reformation, as he once promised." (Herbert, 236.) Charles had made no such promise; and Gardiner, who was among the commissioners appointed to conclude a treaty with the Imperialists, would hardly fail to suggest, that some concessions ought to be made in order to soften the Emperor's antipathies.

Emperor was now in agitation; which, though highly agreeable to the former's Romish subjects, gave great offence to the Pope. His Holiness even offered to relieve Charles's financial embarrassments[s], rather than allow him to form a close alliance with a prince declared by the Roman see to be excommunicated and deprived of his dominions. But as the selfish Pontiff clogged his seeming liberality with a demand that his grandson, Octavius Farnese, who had married the Emperor's natural daughter, should be invested with the dukedom of Milan, the offer of his purse, and of his subserviency[t], was rejected. Charles, heedless of the papal remonstrances, concluded with England a league offensive and defensive. As both the parties to this engaged to invade simultaneously the dominions of Francis with a formidable army, that monarch endeavoured to strengthen himself by forming an alliance with Solyman, the Turkish Sultan. This occasioned fresh disgust to the zealous Romanists; and some of the cardinals even proposed, in a public consistory, that Francis should be no longer styled the Most Christian King[u]. This piece of indiscretion was, however, overruled; and indeed there was some reason to suppose that the Pope himself was far from being upon unfriendly terms with the Sublime

[s] By an annual payment of 150,000 crowns, to be continued during four years. F. Paul's Hist. of the Counc. of Trent, 104.

[t] Paul also promised to make a promotion of cardinals according to Charles's wishes. Ibid.

[u] Herbert, 240.

Porte [x]. Thus the political horizon of Europe presented a spectacle not a little shocking to such as had been used to contemplate the Papacy with unlimited reverence. The King of France divided his friendship between the Pontiff and an infidel; while the Roman Church's imperial son was closely leagued with one whom she had anathematised as a heretic, and who disputed every inch of her pretensions.

Henry having thus arranged his plans of foreign policy, now sought to fill up the void in his domestic comforts. For the sixth time he entered into the connubial state; and he acted upon this occasion as his subjects had jocularly said he ought, in justice to the fair sex. His bride was a widow. Her Christian name was Catharine: she was daughter of Sir John Parr, of Kendal, and relict of John Neville, who, on his mother's death, had become Lord Latimer [y], but who survived his attainment of that honour only a short time. The new queen was married at Hampton Court on the 12th of July [z]. Her religious sentiments inclined to those of the Reformers; and as she possessed a considerable share of good sense, she became

[x] The Turkish fleet put into Ostia for the purpose of watering, to the great alarm of the Romans; but "the Cardinal of Carpi, who commanded in the Pope's name, that was absent, put them out of fear, being secure by the intelligence which he had with the Turks." F. Paul, 105.

[y] His father was Ralph, Lord Neville of Raby, who married, as his second wife, Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Lord Latimer. Dugdale, Baronage.

[z] Stow. Holinshed.

a domestic ally of some importance to their party.

As if, however, to intimidate her from following the bent of her inclinations, she was scarcely seated on the throne, before some of the leading Romanists, now flushed with the hope of imperial support, instituted a persecution in the immediate vicinity of a royal residence[a]. Among the canons of Windsor was Dr. London, an active divine, who had been employed by Cromwell in the visitation of monasteries, but who afterwards became the tool of Bishop Gardiner. This time-serving ecclesiastic exerted himself in procuring evidence to criminate, under the act of Six Articles, some of the Windsor people, who had rendered themselves obnoxious to his sect. These were Anthony Person, a priest, two singing men, named Robert Testwood and John Marbeck, and a humble inhabitant of the borough, named Henry Filmer: four pious individuals, who were in the habit of meeting together for religious purposes, and who had been known to express a disbelief of transubstantiation. Their opinions were viewed with a favourable eye by many residents in the town, and even by some in the castle; among which latter were Sir Philip Hoby, with his lady, and Dr. Haines, one of the canons, as well as dean of Exeter. At length London collected information sufficient to supply materials for a prosecu-

[a] The trial took place on the 27th of July. Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 505.

tion against the Windsor Reformers, and transmitted it to the Bishop of Winchester. By that prelate it was laid before the King in council, and it was moved that a warrant be issued, authorising a search for books and papers both in the town and in the castle of Windsor. A search within the precincts of his own residence, however, Henry refused to permit; but one took place in the town, where several books and papers were seized. About the same time Person, with his three friends, were committed to prison, as were also Sir Philip Hoby, and Dr. Haines. In Marbeck's house were found some manuscript notes upon the Bible, and an English concordance, half completed. As the prisoner was evidently illiterate, these papers occasioned much speculation among his examiners, who immediately conceived hopes of criminating, by means of these documents, some individuals of greater consequence than the poor singing-man. But Marbeck would implicate no one in his troubles; and he asserted, that the papers discovered contained only the fruits of his own industry. It had been his habit, he said, to copy out any observations upon Scripture that came in his way; and indeed when the Bible was first publicly sold, and he found its price above his means, so eager was he to possess a treasure, which fools neglect, and reprobates contemn, that he determined to transcribe the whole of the Sacred Volume. As for the Concordance, he continued, "I undertook the making of

it at the suggestion of a pious friend, who mentioned such a thing to me, and rendered me anxious to possess it. My mode of proceeding in the task was this: I borrowed a Latin Concordance, and having learnt something of the language when a boy, I managed to compare the several articles in it with the corresponding passages in the English Bible; and, as you see, I have completed my work to the end of the letter L." This worthy man's diligent improvement of his scanty knowledge, formed so strong a contrast to that prevailing intellectual indolence, which turns to little account even considerable advantages of education, that his examiners were unable to credit Marbeck's artless tale. However, he soon overcame their incredulity; for being allowed the use of a Latin Concordance, and of an English Bible, he filled, in the course of one single day, no less than three sheets of paper with words under the letter M. When this surprising circumstance was mentioned to the King, he observed, with great justice, "Poor Marbeck has been in the habit of employing his time far better than those who examined him." This man's industry and worth did not, however, procure his immediate enlargement. Together with Person, Testwood, and Filmer, he was brought to trial on a charge of heresy; and lest the townsmen of Windsor should decline to pronounce a verdict of guilty against men, of whose worth they were well aware, the jury was selected from among the tenants of the

chapter. A conviction followed; and although Marbeck was saved[b], his three friends were dragged to the stake, where they displayed a degree of fortitude and piety worthy of the cause for which they suffered.

It is rather satisfactory to know, that the officious time-server, whose evil-minded diligence caused the shedding of this innocent blood, was not long in waiting for his just reward. Dr. London, in concert with a lawyer named Simons, who was confederated with him in the vile trade of procuring informations, had prepared another mass of accusations, affecting some members of the royal household. With these labours of interested malice, and some papers exposing the machinations of the informers, of course not intended for general inspection, Ockham, who had acted as clerk of the court which condemned the martyrs, was despatched to Gardiner. Happily, one of the Queen's servants obtained information of the cargo with which this man was laden. The intelligence was communicated to one of the gentlemen implicated in these charges; and Ockham was in consequence waylaid and seized with all his papers upon him. The whole plot being now discovered, London and Simons were apprehended and examined. They, ignorant of their messenger's misfortune, were found at no loss for plausible state-

[b] Because it appears that the only evidence of his antipathy to transubstantiation, was an epistle of Calvin's, against the mass, in his hand-writing: this, he said, he had copied before the act of Six Articles was passed. Foxe, 1112.

ments in their own vindication. To the truth of these they were required to swear, and that having been readily done, they were thunder-stricken at the production of their own papers. The baseness of these perfidious wretches disgusted the King, and their punishment was exemplary. At Windsor, Reading, and Newbury, they were publicly paraded through the streets on horseback, with their faces towards the animal's tail, and with a paper, detailing their perjury, fastened on their heads. At the end of their ignominious ride was placed the pillory, in which they were then exhibited to the indignant gaze of the populace. This infamous punishment, which London had fairly earned, weighed so heavily upon his spirits, that his constitution gave way, and he soon after died in gaol, despised and broken-hearted[c].

Before, however, he was overtaken by his unhappy fate, he had arranged a conspiracy, with extensive ramifications, against Cranmer. The influence acquired by Gardiner, from the King's desire to have the benefit of his well-known diplomatic talents in conducting the Imperial negociations, and from his never-ceasing endeavours to depress the Reformers, gave occasion to a general expectation of some conspicuous movement among the Romanists. It was currently said of the Bishop of Winchester, that "he had bent his bow in order to shoot some of the head deer."

[c] Foxe, 1114. Strype, Mem. Cranm. 157.

By that designation, the Primate, the Queen, with perhaps other persons of distinction, were intended; and it quickly appeared, that the first-named of these dignified individuals was indeed placed in a situation of considerable danger. The earliest intimation of this was given to him by the agitated state of his own diocese, in which the reforming principles of those clergymen whom he had patronised, were attacked with great boldness and asperity. For the purpose of allaying, by his persuasions and authority, the heats which prevailed among his flock, Cranmer repaired into Kent towards the end of summer, and held a visitation. The presentments at this exhibit a curious picture of the unsettled state into which men's minds were thrown by the violence of religious controversy. Of this the principal theatre appears to have been the cathedral of Canterbury, a church in which spiritual instruction was principally dispensed by six preachers, who, not agreeing as to sentiments, made the pulpit constantly resound with attacks upon the doctrine of each other. Among them no one appears to have offended the Romanists more sorely than Scory. He was presented for declaiming against the efficacy of some trifling ceremonies yet sanctioned by law, as the erection of crosses on Palm Sunday, the practice of parading about with lighted tapers, and other things of the same kind. He appears indeed to have spared in his sermons none of the superstitions which delight the more ignorant Romanists, nor many of the principles which their

Church upholds. At the same time Scory was no intemperate reformer. When he pointed out prevailing abuses, he warned his hearers against being led away by their feelings into a sweeping condemnation of things really good, merely because they had been perverted to interested or injurious purposes. "Thus," he said, "the holy Sacrament of the altar, though it be daily bought and sold, is not to be treated with disrespect." As, however, he assailed the religion in which his hearers had been educated, both with argument and sarcasm, the moderation of his counsels in some particulars failed of conciliating the opposite party; and it was hoped that his patron, the Archbishop, would be obliged to impose silence upon him. Another of the six preachers, named Drum, was complained of for having designated prayers in an unknown tongue, as a mockery of God; and Dr. Ridley, one of the prebendaries, was charged with having taught, that auricular confession is only useful inasmuch as it is an inducement to ask counsel of the priest; as well as with having said, that he could characterize the bulk of such forms as were then used by the Church in no way so correctly as by calling them "beggarly ceremonies."

On the other hand, Shether, one of the six preachers of the Romish persuasion, was presented for having taught, that there is one way to the truth, which men in general followed until of late, since the spirit of innovation got abroad, and that all who find themselves in doubt, have only to re-

sume the course in which they originally set out. Other clergymen, both in Canterbury and in the country, were charged with having preached against the doctrines of the Reformers, which they styled "new fangle," with refusing to part with images and other objects of superstitious regard, with uttering in the pulpit various childish absurdities respecting the Virgin Mary [d], with inveighing against the use of Scripture [e], and with supporting the Romish cause in many other ways.

Of the manner in which the Archbishop disposed of these embarrassing controversies, nothing is recorded. From his temper and habits, however, it is not improbable that he adopted the course which he had tried under similar circum-

[d] The following is a specimen. "If one had looked in Mary when she was full conceived with Christ, he should have perceived him in his mother's womb with a bush of thorns on his back: for he was crucified, crowned, and pricked with thorns." This preacher also informed his congregation, among other things of the same kind, that "Mary nourished her son with milk, but not with material milk, but with milk that came from heaven." Strype (Mem. Cranm. 149.) adds, "No question this heavenly milk came along the milky way."

[e] The preacher who communicated so many extraordinary particulars respecting the blessed Virgin, introduced into one of his sermons the following apostrophe: "You fellows of the new trick, that go up and down with your Testaments in your hands, I pray you what profit take you by them? (This last passage relating to the Testament was interlined by Cranmer himself.) *As Adam was expulsed out of Paradise for meddling with the tree of knowledge, even so be we for meddling with the Scripture of Christ.*" Strype, Mem. Cranm. 150.

stances more than a year before. He had then required the preachers and prebendaries of his cathedral to attend him at Croydon; and had there, by the employment of rebuke, argument, and instruction, endeavoured to moderate or extinguish the spirit of party which prevailed among them. The ill success of his interference, can however occasion no surprise. On the settlement of the new arrangements at Canterbury cathedral, three of the preachers appointed inclined to the Romish side, and the remaining three to that of the Reformers. These appointments were made with a view of allowing the citizens a fair opportunity of forming a correct opinion as to the doctrine of each party. William Gardiner, one of the prebendaries, foretold that this arrangement would lead to angry controversies between the rival preachers; but Cranmer assured him that the plan was sanctioned by the King, and therefore must be carried into execution.

This impolitic plan, however, at length furnished the occasion of great personal uneasiness to the Archbishop himself. Bishop Gardiner being on his way from a council holden at Calais on account of the rupture with France, stopped at Canterbury, and attended service at the cathedral. When mass was over, he took his namesake, the prebendary, by the hand, and enquired of him how matters stood, as to religion, in the city. "But meetly," was the reply. A detail of the controversies raging between the six preachers followed, and the prebendary complained that his

own doctrine had been very roughly treated by the zealots of the opposite party. From the whole conversation it must have become evident to the Bishop, that among the clergy most connected officially with Cranmer, there was a considerable number very well disposed to enter into a confederacy against him. Soon afterwards Gardiner's creature, Dr. London [f], began his operations in Kent; and that practised informer, in concert with the prebendary Gardiner, with Thornden, another prebendary of Canterbury, and suffragan of Dover, and with the three cathedral preachers attached to Romanism, soon prepared a voluminous mass of accusation against the Archbishop, against his chaplains, against Ridley, one of the prebendaries, and against the three reforming preachers: all of whom were charged with a breach of the statute of Six Articles. It was judged expedient to commence the overt attack by indicting the inferior persons accused. As, however, these were known to be under the Primate's especial patronage, the Kentish magistrates wished at first to decline the office of proceeding against them: nor was it until Willoughby, a clergyman of good family, beneficed in their part of the country, and one of the King's chaplains, exerted himself to overcome their scruples, that they consented to embark in a business which ap-

[f] Characterised by Archbishop Parker, in a memorandum relating to this transaction, preserved in Benet College library, as "a stout and filthy preb dary of Windsor." Strype, Mem. Cranm. 158.

peared so hazardous. The local magistracy being thus gained, the case was submitted to a jury, who found a bill. In this stage of the business it was thought advisable to transmit to London intelligence of what had been effected, together with a series of charges against Cranmer himself; in order that the whole might be laid before the King in council. Accordingly, Willoughby was persuaded that he possessed information which it would be dangerous to conceal from his Majesty, and despatched to court with the several papers. In due time he took his station in the ante-chamber of the council-room; but, from some cause or other, his documents got no farther. On the following day he offered them to the Privy Seal[s], with a request to present them. That officer, however, said that he had other business in hand, and therefore could not attend to them. The Kentish divine, now quite discouraged, waited upon Gardiner, and begged to be excused from meddling any farther with the business. This pusillanimity gained a rebuke for him from the Bishop, who upbraided him with shrinking from his duty; and laboured to persuade him, that whatever of danger might lurk about the case, must fall upon the delinquents, not upon those who should expose their evil practices. But Willoughby, who seems to have been a weak man, now displayed the dogged obstinacy which usually characterises such persons, and which they call

[s] "Lord Russell, if I mistake not." Strype, Mem. Cranm. 165.

firmness. He said, that he could not substantiate by his own testimony the charges contained in the papers, and therefore he was determined to decline any farther concern with the matter. This untoward circumstance was then represented to some of the prebendaries of Canterbury, and they consented that the documents should be laid before the privy council in their own names.

The accusations against the Archbishop were to the following effect: that he had rebuked one of the six preachers who defended the use of images in churches; that the same preacher, with one of his coadjutors, had been punished for something reported to have been said by them in the pulpit, but which many of their congregation never had heard; that those who wished to preach against the new opinions, were deterred from so doing by the fear of their diocesan's displeasure, while all who preached in their defence were encouraged; that certain images, not abused to superstitious purposes, had been taken down; and that the diocese of Canterbury abounded with evil preachers. The gist of the accusation, however, referred to the conduct of Dr. Leigh, the Archbishop's commissary, who was naturally enough supposed to act with the privity and approbation of his principal. This officer was charged with having caused the omission of candle-bearing and palm-bearing, with the neglect of holy water, with the needless destruction of images, and with other such offences. He was also accused of keeping company chiefly with ab-

jured persons, of having been the means of delivering Joan Bocher[h], of allowing a tailor to expound the Scripture, of patronising individuals suspected of heresy, of neglecting discipline, of allowing Christian burial to a man who refused the Sacrament on his death-bed, and of having resigned a benefice under a simoniacal contract. Besides this indirect attack upon the Archbishop, through the sides of his commissary, he was personally charged with holding a constant correspondence with Germany, and with remitting money to many persons in that country.

From these articles it is indeed sufficiently clear, that the Archbishop encouraged the reforming party as much as he prudently could. But it does not appear that zeal for his opinions had transported him into any acts of indiscretion, since the little of direct charge that is levelled against him is vague and improbable. When, however, the mass of accusation was submitted to the King, he determined, without Cranmer's knowledge, to make some enquiry into its truth. For this purpose he desired Baker, chancellor of the court of augmentations, to obtain evidence in support of the written accusations with as much secresy as possible. The royal commands were fulfilled without delay, and the result seems to have been a conviction on the King's part, that Cranmer was singled out as the victim of an unprincipled conspiracy[i].

[h] Who was burnt for Arianism in the next reign.

[i] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 168.

Accordingly, one evening after supper, Henry stepped into his barge, and ordered his boatmen to make for Lambeth. Some of the Archbishop's servants, observing his Majesty's approach, hastened to acquaint their master; and by the time that the royal barge had reached the stairs, Cranmer was there in waiting. He was desired to come on board; and having obeyed, Henry thus addressed him: "O my chaplain, now I know who is the greatest heretic in Kent." Cranmer, a good deal surprised by this extraordinary salutation, begged to know its meaning. The King then explained himself by saying, "You have been denounced to me by many persons as the cause why the statute of Six Articles has failed to produce that degree of tranquillity, which was reasonably expected to flow from it." To this the Primate replied, "That, as his Grace knew, he did not approve that statute when it passed, and that he had seen no reason to alter his opinion; but that, however little he approved the law, he had never ventured to transgress it." "Indeed?" rejoined the King, with a playful air; "how think you that your bed-chamber will bear you out in that assertion?" The Primate's answer was to this effect: "It is indeed true that I am a married man. I took a wife in Germany before my appointment to the archbishopric; but no sooner had the act of Six Articles passed, than I sent her back to her friends upon the continent, with whom she has since remained." It appears not improbable that the King might not have been aware

of this last named fact: certain it is that he felt satisfied with the explanation. He then pulled from his sleeve the mass of accusations preferred against the Archbishop. The reading of these papers occasioned to Cranmer the severest pain; for he saw among his enemies men whom he had obliged, trusted, and loved. He knelt down before his royal master, and besought him to issue a commission for an enquiry into this transaction, so that all who might be found to have transgressed the law should be punished. "It shall be done," replied the King; "and such confidence have I in thy fidelity, that thou shalt be chief commissioner, with the full power of choosing thine own assistants." This degree of favour Cranmer begged leave to decline, as being himself the principal object of accusation. "No matter," said the King; "I am sure that the commission will not halt, even although thou shouldest be driven to accuse thyself; but that thou wilt speak the truth of thyself, if in any thing thou hast offended." At length, however, Henry consented to name Dr. Belhouse as a commissioner, with whom the Archbishop determined to associate Cocks, his vicar-general, and Hussey, his registrar. By the aid of these three persons, it was agreed that the whole affair should be thoroughly investigated: "a matter," the King added, "of much importance; as you will, unless I am much deceived, unravel such a conspiracy as you little suspect [k]."

[k] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 169.

Being thus armed with the royal authority, Cranmer proceeded into Kent, for the purpose of facing his accusers. He opened his commission at Feversham; and those who had been most forward in the affair, now became heartily frightened at the turn which it had taken. With some of them, however, retreat was impossible; and they found themselves obliged to attend at Feversham for the sake of substantiating their allegations. Two of the six preachers, Serles and Shether, were among those who now appeared before the court. To these clergymen the Archbishop addressed such a mixture of mild rebuke and serious expostulation, that Shether was affected even to tears. But they were deeply implicated in the conspiracy, and therefore it was not thought advisable to dismiss them. Accordingly both of them were committed to prison. From their place of confinement they naturally enough sent a request to their friend, Bishop Gardiner, that he would endeavour to obtain their release. Such prominence in any ambiguous affair was not that prelate's habit; but in this case he could hardly decline with decency; or perhaps, even with safety, to interpose. He therefore made an attempt to bring the case of these unfortunate divines before the privy council; but the King's manners disconcerted him, and he desisted. Thus finding himself precluded from rendering any substantial service to the distressed applicants, he attempted to rouse their spirit by reproof and

encouragement. "Tell your master," said he to Shether's servant, "that I cannot but think he acted like a child in weeping before the Archbishop. He should have resolutely stood upon his defence. He ought not to have wept, as if for shame: he should have answered like a man. Let him pluck up a good heart. He shall never want for friends. My Lord of Canterbury cannot kill him. In truth, his Grace is only weaving a web which will serve to entangle himself." Assurances of support from the Bishop of Winchester were also communicated to Shether, by means of his brother-in-law, who added, that if he should recant, none of his friends would ever forgive him. This encouragement was probably given with the greater boldness, because Cranmer seemed to treat the machinations of his enemies with little attention. He soon withdrew from Feversham, and left the investigation in the hands of the inferior agents, who, being attached to the Romish party, contrived to protract the time, and to discover nothing.

At length, probably, the Archbishop himself became sensible, that if the conspiracy were not crushed, it might even yet accomplish his destruction. It is at least certain that Morice, his secretary, wrote such a representation to Dr. Butts, the King's physician, and to Sir Anthony Denny, a gentleman of the royal bedchamber, as suddenly brought into Kent Dr. Leighton, who had been active in the suppression of monasteries,

and Dr. Rowland Taylor, a civilian of well known decision[1]. It is evident that Henry considered Cranmer to be in a very hazardous condition; for he desired Dr. Leighton to deliver to the Archbishop his ring as a token of his protection, and he furnished the two new commissioners with sufficient authority for the effectual discharge of their business. Their coming into Kent occasioned serious uneasiness to the Archbishop's enemies there: one of whom ironically said, "Thank my Lord's Grace for sending Dr. Leighton among us: every thing now will be quiet enough."

The prediction was quickly verified. The new commissioners afforded no opportunity, by the opening of a court, for the farther employment of chicanery, delay, and evasion. Nine or ten individuals of resolution and address were selected from the Archbishop's establishment, and ordered to enter, at the same moment, the houses of particular prebendaries and magistrates, and to seize there, however secured, all the papers relating to the business in hand that they could find. This decisive blow exposed the whole conspiracy. At the end of four hours the messengers returned, laden with such a mass of documents as completely unmasked the agents in the plot, together with all their plans and motives. Bishop Gardiner was now clearly connected with this nefarious piece of treachery; the details of which appeared to have been contrived by Dr. London, of infa-

[1] "Who was afterwards burnt for his constancy in religion." Strype, Mem. Cranm. 172.

mous memory. The Archbishop's character was now vindicated, and his personal safety ensured; but the discoveries which led to these desirable results cut him to the heart [m].

Attached to the archiepiscopal household was a civilian named Barber, whose advice and services were constantly used by the Primate when required, and whom his patron held in high esteem. Another individual who often staid with the Archbishop, and who was treated by him with marked distinction, was Richard Thornden [n], suf-

[m] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 173.

[n] He "was monk of Christ Church, Canterbury, and at the dissolution of that monastery in 1539, or 1540, and conversion of it into a college of secular canons, was constituted the first prebendary of it, and soon after made suffragan of the diocese, with the title Bishop of Dover, in which office he continued till his death, *ultimo Mariæ*." (Wharton's Observations upon Strype's Mem. of Cranm. affixed to the second volume of that work.) Queen Mary died on the 17th of November, 1558. (Godwin. Annal.) Dr. Thornden "died in the latter end of 1557." (Le Neve's Fasti.) Foxe says of Thornden, that when with the Archbishop, the latter "always set him at his own mess," which Wharton thus explains: "The Archbishop was wont to shew to him extraordinary respect, whenever he attended him; for in those days suffragan bishops, however usual, were treated with contempt enough, not wont to be admitted to dine at the Archbishop's own table in the hall of the Archbishop's palace. There were generally three tables spread in the Archbishop's hall, and served at the same time. The Archbishop's table, at which, ordinarily, none sat but peers of the realm, privy counsellors, and gentlemen of the greatest quality. The almoner's table, at which sat the chaplains, and all guests of the clergy beneath diocesan bishops and abbots. The steward's table, at which sat all other gentlemen. The suffragan bishops

fragan of Dover, and prebendary of Canterbury. Both these persons were at Bekesburne with Cranmer when the proofs of the recent conspiracy arrived, and in it they were found to be deeply implicated. Of this the Archbishop was no sooner aware, than he sent for them both into study, and thus addressed them: "You twain be men in whom I have had much confidence and trust. You must now give me some good counsel, for I am shamefully abused by one or twain to whom I have shewn all my secrets from time to time, and did trust them as myself. The matter, however, is now so fallen out, that they not only have disclosed my secrets, but also have taken upon them to accuse me of heresy, and are become witnesses against me. I have always used you as my friends, and advised with you when I needed counsel. Tell me, therefore, how should I behave myself towards those who have so much abused me?" Both answered this appeal by loud condemnations of such villainy as that mentioned by their patron. This dissimulation added to the anguish of Cranmer's mind. He lifted up his hands to heaven, and exclaimed, "O Lord, most merciful God, whom now may a man trust? Most truly hast thou said, Cursed be the man that trusteth in man, and maketh flesh his arm[o]. Sel-

then were wont to sit at the almoner's table; and the Archbishop, in admitting his suffragan Thornden to his own table, did him an unusual honour; which was, therefore, noted to aggravate the ingratitude of the man conspiring against the Archbishop."

[o] Jerem. xvii. 5.

dom, surely, hath man been handled like as I am. Yet thou hast raised up for me one fast friend[p]; and without his aid I could not stand upright a single day. I praise thy holy name for having thus protected me." Then, turning to his perfidious associates, and pulling from his bosom their letters, he said, "Know ye these, my masters?" At the sight, the detected traitors fell instantly upon their knees, and earnestly besought the pardon of their baseness. Cranmer, much affected, desired them to rise, and thus replied, "My forgiveness you have most heartily. Now ask God for his. May he make you better men. I never deserved this treatment at your hands. But if I may not trust such men as you, what profit is my life to me? I perceive that fidelity and truth are not to be expected among men. I shall fear hereafter lest my right hand should accuse my left. But I need not marvel. Our Saviour Christ prophesied that such would be the condition of the world in the latter days. Pray God that these days be shortened." The Archbishop then gently admonished his false-hearted confidants, and dismissed them from his presence with kind and encouraging language[q]. Prudence, indeed, required that Barber should no longer be allowed to serve one whose confidence he had so grossly abused[r]; but in no respect besides, did

[p] The King.

[q] Foxe, 1695.

[r] The Archbishop was also obliged to withdraw his countenance from "one Mr. Talbot, another false man which was also

Cranmer afterwards manifest the least want of good-will towards either him or Thornden[s].

The whole mass of documents relating to this conspiracy, so disreputable to those who set it afloat, was inclosed in a chest and sent to Lambeth, for the purpose of being submitted to the King[t]. Some of the most guilty individuals were committed to prison; whence they addressed letters to the Archbishop, supplicating his intercession and forgiveness. Their request was easily granted, and the offenders soon found themselves once more at liberty. Of all the letters written to the Archbishop upon this occasion, no one appears to have affected him more powerfully than that from William Gardiner, the prebendary, whose conversation suggested the idea of setting the intrigue on foot. In this address the humiliated supplicant styled his injured diocesan, "Most honourable father." The kind-hearted prelate to whom Gardiner wrote, when he saw him next, thus addressed him: "Ye call me father: in good faith I will be a father to you indeed." But notwithstanding these submissions, Cranmer's ene-

of his counsel and chamber. But Dr. London took occasion hence to say, that they could tell a shrewd tale if they were examined; and that it was not for nought they were put out of service: as though the reason were, that they should no more have opportunity of knowing any of the Archbishop's doings or sayings." Strype, Mem. Cranm. 174.

[s] This clergyman, immediately after the accession of Queen Mary, restored the mass at Canterbury Cathedral, without the consent or knowledge of his ordinary, Cranmer.

[t] Foxe, 1696.

mies did not lay aside their ill-will towards him, nor abandon the idea of plotting farther mischief. He was apprised of new meetings among them, and he found himself obliged to menace them with farther marks of his displeasure, unless they should desist from their criminal attempts [a].

The Archbishop's conduct, amidst the treachery and ingratitude which occasioned to him so much uneasiness at this time, reflects the highest credit on his memory, and was duly appreciated by his contemporaries. It was commonly said of him, that the readiest way to gain his favour was by doing him some injury. Nor, such was the general confidence in his unsuspecting and placable temper, did those who were known to be his enemies, hesitate to make demands upon his friendship. Upon one occasion the Archbishop made an application to the King in behalf of a person of quality who had desired his interference. "Do you take this man for your friend?" asked Henry. "Assuredly I do," was the reply; "he protested his attachment to me with warmth, and I doubt not with sincerity." "Tell him, then," rejoined the King, "I desire you, from me, that he is a knave. The man is your deadly enemy." Cranmer expressed his concern at this intelligence, but requested to be excused from delivering his Majesty's uncourtly message. "Nay," said Henry,

[a] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 175. The principal particulars of this case are preserved in the letters and submissions of the chief conspirators, printed by Strype (Mem. Cranm. Appendix, 765.) from an MS. in Benet College library.

"I do insist upon your punishing the man, so far, for his baseness." The Archbishop, however, took the liberty of disobeying the royal commands in this particular[x].

The Kentish conspiracy appears to have been the means of establishing Cranmer in the King's good graces more firmly than ever. Henry could no longer doubt that the Archbishop's moral qualities were of the highest order, nor could he overlook the dangers by which his friend was beset from the superior political tact and the inveterate hostility of the Romish party. In the same proportion, however, as the Primate's character rose in the royal esteem, did that of Gardiner sink. It does not, indeed, appear that there was any direct proof of the Bishop of Winchester's participation in arranging the schemes of the Kentish conspirators, but the encouragement that he gave to certain individuals among them admits of no doubt[y], nor does his patronage of Dr. London, the contriver of their iniquitous confederacy. It can hardly be believed that a distinguished individual, thus suspiciously connected with a knot of intriguers leagued together against his rival, was not something more than a well-wisher to the success of their enterprise. The King appears to have taken this view of the case. He considered Gardiner hereafter as an artful and disingenuous

[x] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 508.

[y] See the submissions of Willoughby and Shether. Strype, Mem. Cranm. Appendix, No. 33.

man[z], and thus the advantage gained by the Romish party from their leader's influence as a diplomatist, was in a great measure lost by his ambiguous conduct as a politician. Not only, however, was the Bishop of Winchester doomed to see the downfall of his political expectations; he was also compelled to witness in silence a very severe domestic affliction. His kinsman and secretary, German Gardiner, was apprehended upon a charge of denying the royal supremacy; and, being convicted, he suffered the penalty of death[a], as a traitor.

The Romish party having received so considerable a check by the discredit with the King into which Gardiner had fallen, Cranmer thought it a favourable opportunity for the obtainment of some legislative protection against the extreme rigour of the Six Articles. The Parliament met on the 14th of January, and during its session the Archbishop, though deserted by four prelates who at first faintly supported him, and violently opposed, procured by his spirit and firmness the passing of an act, by which no person was for the future to be put upon his trial under the statute of Six Articles, until after he should have been legally presented upon the oaths of twelve men;

[z] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 176.

[a] He was hanged on the 7th of March. (Herbert, 241.) "Heywood, another of the crew of informers and witnesses, was condemned for treason with Gardiner; but making a recantation, his life was spared." Strype, Mem. Cranm. 176.

nor before such time was any one accused under that statute to be imprisoned; nor was any one to be presented for an offence which, it might be stated, he had committed more than twelve months before; nor was any preacher to be indicted for words said to have been uttered by him in the pulpit more than forty days before, unless just cause could be given for the delay. Accused persons were also to be allowed the privilege of challenging the jury, as in ordinary cases of felony [b].

Whatever might be the feelings of the more violent Romanists respecting this act, it is certain that another passed in this session gave considerable satisfaction to their whole party. In order, probably [c], to gratify the Emperor, the Lady Mary was formally restored to a place in the succession. It was enacted that the crown should descend, in the first place, upon the Prince of Wales, or his issue; secondly, upon any issue, male or female, of the King's present or any future marriage; thirdly, upon the Lady Mary; and fourthly, upon the Lady Elizabeth. The succession of these two princesses was, however, to be subject to such limitations as his Majesty should appoint by his letters patent, or by his last will. In default of issue from the King's present

[b] Herbert, 242.

[c] "This was done, no doubt, upon a secret article of the treaty with the Emperor; and did put new life in the Popish party, all whose hopes depended upon the Lady Mary." Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 509.

marriage, and in case of his three children's death without heirs of their own bodies, his Majesty was empowered to dispose of the crown by will. To this important act was appended a new form of an oath, renouncing the Bishop of Rome's authority, and pledging the swearer to support the succession as then established by law [d]. The act upon the whole was viewed as a partial triumph by the Romanists, who now saw the Princess, upon whom their hopes were founded, and who was so nearly akin to the Emperor, once more recognised as capable of inheriting the throne. It was indeed true that her legitimacy still was not admitted; in fact, it was tacitly denied by the clause in the act, which placed before her any daughters who might be born to the King. But this slight was overlooked, since it could be scarcely doubted, that the nation being again used to consider her as eligible to the sovereignty, in case male heirs should fail, she would have no difficulty in asserting the right attaching to her from priority of birth.

As this was the first act passed in this session, the Romanists were emboldened to try the effect of a new attack upon Cranmer. His assailant was now Sir John Gostwick, one of the members for Bedfordshire, a gentleman of considerable weight in the House of Commons, and a staunch friend to the religion in which he had been educated. It is obvious that the knight had suffered

[d] Herbert, 241.

himself to be made a tool upon this occasion; for he rose in his place, and complained of some sermons which the Archbishop was said to have preached in his own diocese. Nor was the offensive matter charged such as was to be expected from a divine of Cranmer's actual principles. The House was informed that the Primate had taught manifest heresy against the sacrament of the altar. For such an accusation it is difficult to account, unless by supposing either that it was a mere fiction, or that Cranmer had preached against the various errors and abuses which Romanists had engrafted upon their doctrine of the mass. But however the charge might have arisen, the King crushed it at the outset, on the ground, as it appears, of the mover's want of connexion with Kent, and of the consequent probability that he was only incited by others to keep alive the conspiracy lately on foot in that county. "Where dwelleth Gostwick?" asked Henry. "Somewhere in Bedfordshire or in Buckinghamshire," was the reply. "Surely then he hath long ears," continued the King, "if he could hear the sermons preached by my Lord of Canterbury in Kent. But I see how it is. Go, tell the varlet, that he hath played a villainous part to abuse in open Parliament the Primate of the whole realm: a prelate too so high in favour with his Prince. However, let him know from me, that unless he makes his peace with the Archbishop, so that he becomes a good lord to him, I will soon render him poor Gostwick, by punishing him severely

for an example to others." The Bedfordshire knight, being apprised of this menace by one of the gentlemen of the privy-chamber who was sent to him for that purpose, lost no time in proceeding to Lambeth, and there making an apology to the Archbishop. His excuses were readily accepted, and Cranmer undertook to speak favourably of him to the King. Henry, however, made some difficulty in saying that he felt satisfied, and caused it to be notified to Sir John, that he only consented to overlook his conduct on condition that he would undertake no such business again[e].

The legislature, in this session, passed an act annexing in perpetuity to the reigning Prince the following titles: King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith; and of the Church of England, and also of that of Ireland, in Earth the Supreme Head[f]. Thus the title which Pope Leo revived as a compliment to the royal antagonist of Luther, was now legally conferred upon the possessor of the English throne; and our sovereigns justly style themselves Defenders of the Faith, not only because they have been for a long series of years the most powerful protectors of principles founded upon the rock of Scripture, but also because the voice of their people, constitutionally expressed, has declared that this designation shall be the inalienable distinction of their crown.

[e] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 176. Foxe, 1694. [f] Herbert, 242.

CHAPTER XII.

State of affairs in Scotland—Invasion of that country—The Litany sung in English—Invasion of France—Decline of the reforming influence—Intrigue to ruin Cranmer—He is apprised of it by the King—Conduct of the council—Termination of the intrigue—Some popular superstitions suppressed—The Romish canon law—The Parliament assembles, and vests in the crown the chantry, collegiate, and other estates in mortmain—Pillage of the dignified clergy—The King's speech to the two Houses—Applications of the Universities for the preservation of their revenues—The council of Trent assembles—The death of Luther—The Trentine divines determine that apostolical tradition and the Apocrypha are to be placed upon a level with Scripture—Debates upon these subjects—The constitution of the council—Peace with France—Overtures to the French court respecting the reformation of religion—Proclamation against publications deemed heretical—Shaxton's relapse into Romanism—Persecution of Anne Askew—Her second apprehension—Her martyrdom—Intrigue to ruin the Queen—Her politic submission—Disgust of the King towards the Romish party—Disgrace of Bishop Gardiner—Misfortunes of the Howards—Trial and execution of the Earl of Surrey—The Duke of Norfolk's submissions—His attainder—The King's death—His services to religion—His persecutions—His cruelties, and personal character.

As the season advanced the public attention was directed to the military preparations by which both France and Scotland were menaced. The latter country was first attacked. It was indeed so distracted by intestine divisions, that a powerful neighbour had every encouragement to interfere in its domestic affairs. The last illness of the

late King had been characterized by such a total prostration of intellectual vigour, that he died without making any well-authenticated arrangements for the government of his dominions during his daughter's minority. Thus the chief power, which was more than ordinarily important on account of the heats excited by religious dissensions, appeared to be a prize that artifice or violence might hope to win. Of the two parties which contended for the acquisition, that of the Romanists was headed by the Queen Dowager and Cardinal Beaton; the former of whom, by birth a Guise, came of a family warmly attached to the Papacy; the latter felt himself bound to support its cause both by prejudice and interest. The Reformers rallied round James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, who, after the infant queen, was the next heir to the crown[t]. This nobleman not only possessed great influence in the country on account of his bias towards Protestant principles, but also his birth seemed to point him out as the fittest person for the assumption of the regency during the childhood of his illustrious relative. Arran, however, was smitten by that love of lettered ease, which, though a source of happiness and respectability in private life, commonly unfits men for the contentious activity of a public station. Beaton, accordingly, did not hesitate to claim the principal place in the regency, by virtue of an instrument produced by him, and declared to be

[t] "By his grandmother, daughter of James III." Hume.

the late monarch's will. The genuineness of this document was readily admitted by the Queen dowager, and of course the Romish party felt no disposition to dispute her judgment in that particular. But the Reformers were not thus easily satisfied. They pronounced the will produced to be a forgery, or at least to have been wholly prepared by the Cardinal, and merely read over to James when delirious, and incapable of exercising his judgment. Such representations, backed as they were by the support of a powerful party, at length aroused Arran into some degree of activity, and he came forward to claim the distinguished post, which seemed to have descended upon him. A Parliament was now summoned, which examined the late King's supposed will, and pronounced it spurious; and at the same time was produced a paper, found in the hand-writing of James, from which it appeared, that about three hundred reformers of some distinction were marked out for slaughter upon the first favourable opportunity. The odium of having incited the late King to conceive such a cruel intention, fell entirely upon the Cardinal Archbishop of St. Andrew's, whose pretensions to the regency were indignantly set aside by the legislative voice, while those of Arran were formally recognized.

However, the unfitness of this nobleman for the office which he now undertook, soon became undeniably apparent. He found himself unable to gain parliamentary sanction for a matrimonial treaty with England, before he had subjected

Beaton to personal restraint: from which that active prelate no sooner obtained his release, than he intrigued successfully to prevent the arrangements, which had been concluded with England, from taking effect. Henry's ministers at the Scottish court now saw no hope that their master's objects would be accomplished; and, in consequence, they demanded of the prisoners, released upon their parole, that they should return to London. The dishonourable refusal which all these noble persons, excepting Lord Cassilis, gave to this demand, was a new advantage to the Cardinal's party; since those who had made up their minds to remain at home, in preference to fulfilling their engagements, naturally became desirous of breaking with the monarch, whose confidence they had abused. Thus the number of Arran's adherents rapidly diminished; and that nobleman at length, completely disheartened by the difficulties of his situation, embraced the resolution of abjuring his religious principles, and of reconciling himself to the Roman Church. This expedient effectually ruined his hopes. The Papists indeed exulted in his defection from the tenets of their adversaries, but they felt no greater disposition than before to entrust their own interests to his hands. Of the Protestants he necessarily lost the respect and confidence. Thus the political energies of Scotland were almost entirely concentrated on the side of those who laboured to cement an alliance with France, and to uphold the papal authority; nor could

Henry doubt, that his influence over his northern neighbours must be soon nearly extinguished, unless maintained by force of arms [b].

In consequence of this conviction, a considerable expedition moved towards Scotland. As the King's avowed object in making the attack was to extort from the Scots a ratification of the matrimonial treaty, the Earl of Hertford, maternal uncle to the young Prince of Wales, was, with sufficient propriety, entrusted with the command of the forces. With this nobleman were associated Francis Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, and John Dudley, Lord Lisle, who had been recently appointed Lord Admiral of England. Newcastle was the place of rendezvous, to which these officers, with their respective forces, were ordered to repair. From that port the expedition sailed for Leith, where it, on arrival [c], found a force prepared to dispute its progress. It, however, soon appeared, that the Scots did not possess the means of offering an effectual resistance to their invaders; and accordingly, after a contest of no long continuance, Hertford was left master of the field. His men now entered Leith; and, after plundering that town [d], advanced to Edinburgh. Under the walls of this capital, the citizens proposed to admit the hostile army, upon condition of being allowed to transport themselves, and their properties, away.

[b] Rapin, I. 835.

[c] May 4. Herbert, 243.

[d] "Our men found more riches there, they said, than they could have easily imagined." Ibid.

This proposal was rejected; and, after a slight resistance, the English forced their way into the town, which they plundered and fired. However, amidst this scene of desolation, the castle of Edinburgh reared its head uninjured; and as there appeared no hope of its capture, the invaders, after devastating the defenceless country, hastily withdrew from the exhausted neighbourhood. Desolation continued to mark their steps during their retreat[e]; and by the time that they had reached the border, although they had not effected one single object of importance, they had filled the south of Scotland with ruined peasants, imprecating curses upon the English name. Henry's policy indeed was equally cruel and injudicious. Either his troops should have abstained from spreading havoc through the country, or their first advantages should have been succeeded by military measures upon a scale sufficient to crush the hostile faction.

Probably as the King was about to invade France in person, the Scottish expedition did not receive so much attention as it deserved. Indeed the finances of no monarch in that age were such as to allow the vigorous prosecution of two wars at a distance from each other at the same time. As, therefore, Henry had concerted measures with the Emperor for a formidable attack upon France, it is likely that he was unable to continue in the

[e] They entered Berwick on the 18th of May. (Herbert, 243.) Thus the whole affair was little more than a predatory inroad of a fortnight's continuance.

field effective operations against Scotland, and that he was compelled to commit the prosecution of his designs upon that country to party intrigues, and desultory hostilities. When upon the eve of his departure for the continent, he issued orders for the preparation of a Litany in the vernacular tongue[f], which was to be used in solemn processions, undertaken for the purpose of supplicating the Divine blessing upon his arms. This was the first step towards relieving the English Church from that inveterate abuse by which the public devotions were offered up in a language wholly unknown to the great majority of nearly every congregation in the kingdom. The reforming party gladly hailed this concession to their opinions, considering it as the prelude to an arrangement for the performance of all the offices of religion in words which those who came to benefit by them could understand.

All the preparations for his departure being completed, the King, attended by a magnificent retinue, crossed the strait to Calais on the 14th of July, in a vessel, the sails of which were cloth of gold. On the day after his landing, he received the Imperial minister, who waited upon him for the purpose of delivering from Charles a complimentary message, and an earnest intreaty that the mode of conducting the war already concerted

[f] "Being put into the same form almost in which it now stands." (Heylin, Hist. Ref. 20.) This Litany, however, is probably lost. Strype (Mem. Cranm. 184.) says, "I have not met with these suffrages."

between the two courts, should be rigidly followed by the English. It had been agreed, that the two monarchs, regardless of intervening fortifications, should push on at once for Paris, and form a junction under the walls of that capital. As Charles had entered France with nearly fifty thousand men [g], and Henry with not less than thirty thousand [h], a strict adherence on both sides to this plan of operations would inevitably have plunged the French monarchy into very serious difficulties. But as the Imperialists advanced, they found the country purposely denuded of its resources; and Charles seeing that he must necessarily subsist his numerous host by means of supplies drawn from a distance, became anxious for the possession of some fortified places in his rear, which might serve as a protection for his convoys. He accordingly attacked Ligny and Commercy, which towns he easily reduced. He next invested St. Disier, which, being defended with uncommon gallantry, long defied his efforts [i]. It was while his troops were kept in check by this unexpected obstacle, that his minister urged upon Henry the propriety of disregarding all such acquisitions, and of marching directly for the capital. The English monarch, however, under such circumstances, thought himself justified in neglecting the counsels of his ally, and in attacking such towns as he considered likely to prove advantage-

[g] Robertson's Charles V. III. 33.
[h] Herbert, 244. [i] Robertson.

ous possessions to himself. Having determined upon this course, he laid siege to Boulogne and Montreuil. To the former place indeed he soon repaired in person, with all the pomp of royalty and war; and, after an investment of two months' continuance, he entered the fortifications as a conqueror [k]. Meanwhile the Emperor, finding the obstacles to his progress very considerable, being harassed by the Pope's complaints, and by the increasing boldness of the German Protestants, as well as having embroiled Henry and Francis pretty effectually, became desirous of making peace. He therefore remonstrated with his English ally for having followed his own example in undertaking sieges, and required him to push forwards for Paris without farther loss of time. This demand, however, was refused; and Charles then made no shew of difficulty in negociating with the French. Accordingly a treaty between Francis and the Imperialists was concluded at Crespy [l]. Henry then gave orders for raising the siege of Montreuil; and, after leaving a sufficient garrison in Boulogne, he set sail for England [m]. Upon the whole, however, he was so well contented with the result of his campaign, that he would not listen to some overtures of peace made by Francis, except upon such terms as that prince was bound to reject. Nor was the

[k] September 18. The upper town was surrendered four days before. Herbert, 246.

[l] September 18. Robertson.

[m] September 30. Herbert, 248.

English nation dissatisfied with the exploits of their countrymen in France. The acquisition of Boulogne was considered as equally glorious and important; although orders for the fortification of Gravesend, Tilbury, and other places exposed to continental attacks, which were issued soon after the King's arrival at home[n], plainly shewed that the power of France was not even considered to be materially impaired.

Bishop Gardiner having preceded the King to Calais in the last summer, and being commissioned, in conjunction with Bishop Thirlby of Westminster, to reside at the Imperial court in the present year[o], the main-spring of the Romish party was withdrawn from England during a considerable length of time. Cranmer, in consequence, felt himself encouraged to hope that he might now carry forward his plans of reform without interruption; but his efforts were paralysed by means of Gardiner; who, though at a distance, never intermitted his attention to the state of religion in England. Accordingly, no sooner was he apprised that any ecclesiastical innovations were likely to be carried into effect there, than he wrote home to represent the peculiar inexpediency of such changes in the existing posture of affairs[p]. The King, being then occupied by a war with France, was naturally anxious to retain a good understanding with the Emperor; an object in which, he was informed, he must certainly fail,

[n] Herbert, 249. [o] Ibid. 251. [p] Ibid.

if he should make any nearer advances to a conformity with the system of the German Protestants. He was also desirous of preventing the council, then upon the point of assembling at Trent, from passing any censure upon his conduct and measures: a mortification from which the influence of Charles might be expected to protect him[q]. But the circumstance which most tended to render him subservient to the policy of the Imperial court, was the activity of Francis. That monarch, stung to the quick by the capture of Boulogne, made the most formidable preparations for its recovery; and although he did not succeed in that object, his other operations afforded ample employment to the English cabinet. He despatched to sea a numerous fleet, from which a predatory descent was made, first upon the Isle of Wight, afterwards upon the Sussex coast. He furnished the Scots with such a band of auxiliaries as kept Henry's army at bay during the whole summer[r]: and thus the state of foreign politics formed a powerful counterpoise to the influence of the English Reformers. This influence was also much lessened by the appointment of a new chancellor. Lord Audley, who had held the seals from the time of Sir Thomas More's resignation, began to decline in health during the last year;

[q] "The Emperor had promised that the council should not at all intermeddle with the matter between the Pope and the King. The effect shewed he was true in this particular." Burnet, Hist. Ref. III. 240.

[r] Herbert, 249.

when, becoming incapable of business, the seals were delivered to John, Lord Wriothesley; who was constituted Lord Keeper[s], and who, on the death of Audley, which was not long deferred, succeeded to the chancellorship. Unhappily for the Reformers, this statesman adhered to the party and opinions of their adversaries. However, the English opponents of Romanism sustained at this time a more serious loss in Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, who died in August, much regretted by the King, and generally respected by the nation[t]. This nobleman had been Henry's associate in boyhood; and from his marriage with the dowager Queen of France, had been enabled to ripen that early intimacy into a firm friendship. In religious opinions, Suffolk sided with the Reformers; and as he never mingled in the contentions of party politics, he was enabled to exert habitually a degree of influence in favour of his friends, which their enemies could neither accurately trace to its source, nor easily contravene.

It was not long after the Duke's remains were consigned to the tomb, before the inveterate

[s] "This seems to be the first instance of a Lord Keeper with the full authority of a Lord Chancellor." Burnet, Hist. Ref. III. 236.

[t] "A right hardy gentleman, as our historians term him; yet withal so discreet and affable, as he was beloved of all sorts, and his death much lamented. Our King, for his more honour, causing him, at his own charge, to be honourably buried at Windsor." Herbert, 251.

hostility with which the Romish party regarded Cranmer, found vent in a new attempt upon him. The proximate cause of this does not appear; but as the angry feelings excited among the clergy of his diocese continued after the recent proceedings in Kent, it is not improbable that the depression under which, from various causes, the reforming party laboured, encouraged the discontented preachers, and their friends, to try the effect of another complaint against their diocesan. Henry was informed, "that the Primate, with his learned men, had so infected the whole realm with unsavoury doctrine as to fill all places with abominable heretics; and that this course, if allowed to go on, was likely to shake the throne, by producing such commotions and uproars as were sprung up in Germany." As no prince can be indifferent, on his own account, to the operation of causes which appear to threaten the peace and stability of his rule, the King listened with some attention to this representation, and enquired as to how it was thought advisable to commence an investigation into the charges levelled against the Archbishop. "By committing him to the Tower," was the reply. To this course, however, Henry objected, as needlessly harsh, and as looking like a prejudgment of the case. His objections were met by representations of the unpopularity under which the Primate had generally fallen, and of a disposition to expose his illegal acts; so general, it was said, that nothing but the fear of incurring the royal displeasure, could repress it. If, how-

ever, it was added, the obnoxious party should appear to have lost something of his seeming invulnerability, charges would be brought against him in abundance. Henry at length agreed so far to countenance the plan proposed, as to consent that the Archbishop should be summoned before the privy council on the following day, and that he should then be committed to the Tower, if the members should deem such a step advisable.[a]

After the King had thus yielded to the suggestions of Cranmer's enemies, and had reflected awhile upon what he had done, he became uneasy. At eleven o'clock at night he desired Sir Anthony Denny to cross over to Lambeth, and command the Archbishop's immediate attendance at Whitehall. When the messenger arrived, the Archbishop was in bed. He, however, quickly arose, and soon presented himself before his royal master in the gallery of the palace. Henry then detailed to him the particulars of the application which he had received; and, after mentioning the authority for his arrest, with which the privy council was armed, thus concluded: "To all this, what say you, my Lord?" Cranmer expressed

[a] Strype (Mem. Cranm. 177.) places this incident, in Cranmer's life, in the year 1544; and Bishop Burnet assigns it to 1546. But Archbishop Parker informs us, that the Duke of Suffolk had died a short time before, and Dr. Butts was concerned in the affair. Now the doctor died in November, 1545. (Note to Burnet.) Suffolk, in the August of that year. The transaction must, therefore, have occurred some time between these two dates.

his grateful sense of the kindness to which he was indebted for this information, and his total indifference as to the proposed arrest, on the ground of his own ability to refute any charge against him, as well as of his sovereign's evident determination to protect him from injustice. On hearing this unwary language, the King broke out in one of his characteristic bursts of vehemence: "O Lord God," he exclaimed, "what fond simplicity have you, so to permit yourself to be imprisoned, that every enemy of yours may take advantage against you! Do you not know, that when they have you once in prison, three or four false knaves will soon be procured to witness against you, and condemn you; which else, you being now at liberty, dare not open their lips, or appear before your face? No: it shall not be so. I have a better regard unto you, than to permit your enemies to overthrow you thus. Therefore I will have you tomorrow come to the council, which no doubt will send for you; and when they break this matter unto you, require of them, that, being one of their body, you may be allowed the privilege, which each of them would think reasonable for himself, of being confronted with your accusers. And if they stand with you without regard to your allegations, nor will in any manner condescend to your request, but will needs commit you to the Tower; then appeal you from them to our person, and give unto them this my ring, by the which they shall well understand that I have taken your cause from them into mine own hand.

This ring, they well know, I use for no other purpose than as a token that I mean to call matters from the council, for the sake of ordering and determining them myself." The Archbishop then thankfully received the ring, and shortly afterwards withdrew to his own abode.

Ignorant of this interview, the council assembled on the following morning; and, by eight o'clock, a messenger was despatched to Lambeth, with an order for Cranmer's attendance. As the summons was expected, it was immediately obeyed, and the Primate soon made his appearance in the ante-room of the council-chamber. Farther he was not allowed to proceed, and therefore he quietly took his seat in the outer chamber among the personal attendants of the members of the board, and the official inferiors. He remained in this situation about three quarters of an hour, during which time several persons crossed the apartment in their way to the inner room. While his patron continued waiting, Morice, his secretary, met with Dr. Butts, the King's physician, and related to him the novel circumstances under which the Archbishop was placed. Butts immediately went to pay his respects to him, and being shortly afterwards called to attend the King, he was asked, "Is there any news stirring this morning?" "Yea marry," replied the doctor, "very strange news." "Ha! what is that, Butts?" said the King. "Why my Lord of Canterbury," was the answer, "is become a lacquey, or a serving man, and hath, to my certain knowledge, been

waiting among such folk for more than half an hour at the door of the council-chamber." "So," rejoined the King, "it is thus that they have treated my Lord of Canterbury. Well, it is no matter; I shall talk to them by and by." At length orders were given to have the Archbishop brought before the board. He was then informed, that heavy complaints of heresy, propagated both by himself and by individuals under his protection, having reached his Majesty and the sworn advisers of the crown, it was the King's pleasure that he should stand committed to the Tower, there to await the issue of a solemn investigation into the particulars of his conduct. The Archbishop, after hearing this address, desired to be confronted with his accusers while yet at large; and argued, that a denial of this request would be an evident violation of justice. He was, however, answered, that extensive enquiries had already been made, that a strong case against him was pretty clearly made out, and that, under such circumstances, his Majesty had commanded his committal: for which, accordingly, it was ordered that a warrant should be immediately prepared. "I am sorry, my Lords," then said the Primate, "that you drive me to such a step; but seeing myself likely to obtain no fair usage from you, I must appeal from your Lordships to his Majesty. This, therefore, I now do; and by the ring which I here produce, it will be seen that his Highness has reserved my case for his own investigation; and that your Lordships, therefore, have no far-

ther jurisdiction in the matter." The counsellors looked in mute astonishment, first upon the royal ring, and then upon each other. At length Lord Russell, breaking silence with an oath, thus expressed his thoughts: "Did I not tell you, my Lords, what would come of this affair? I know right well that the King would never permit my Lord of Canterbury to be imprisoned unless it were for high treason."

The next step to be taken by the council was the delivery of his ring, and of the papers upon which they had been deliberating, to the King in person. Henry thus received the party: "Ah, my Lords, I thought that I had a discreet and wise council, but now I find that I have been deceived. How have you handled here my Lord of Canterbury? What make ye of him? A slave; shuting him out of the council-chamber among serving men. Would ye be so handled yourselves? I would ye should well understand that I account my Lord of Canterbury as faithful a man towards me as was ever prelate in this realm, and one to whom I am many ways beholden, by the faith I owe to God." To this uncourtly address the Duke of Norfolk thus replied: "We meant no manner of hurt unto my Lord of Canterbury, when we desired to have him in durance. We only uttered this request in order that after being found guiltless of the charges brought against him, he might be set at liberty to his greater glory." The King, however, seemed to hold in no very high esteem the mode of vindicating the

Archbishop's character, which the council had proposed to adopt. "I pray you," he added, "use not my friends so. I perceive now well enough how the world goeth among you. There remaineth malice among you one towards another: let it be avoided out of hand, I would advise you." Advice from such a quarter was not, at least in appearance, to be rejected. The baffled counsellors advanced towards the Archbishop, and offered to him their hands. He readily admitted their apologies; and, within a few days afterwards, the distinguished persons who had so lately lent themselves to the malice of his enemies, were invited, by the King's desire, to partake of his hospitality at Lambeth [x].

It was, probably, soon after this incident that Cranmer, having retired to his seat at Bekesburne, occupied some of his leisure there in compiling English litanies, and in selecting melodies to which they might be adapted. He also appears to have rendered some of the Latin hymns into English verse, with a view to their introduction in that intelligible form into the service of the Church [y]. In these undertakings he appears to have acted under his royal master's sanction, and therefore it is evident that the King was not disposed to allow the Reformation to remain stationary. This disposition was, however, shewn more fully from an application made by the Archbishop

[x] Parker, 502. Strype, Mem. Cranm. 181.

[y] Cranmer's letter to the king from Bekesburne, dated October 7. Collier, II. 206.

for the royal authority to suppress some popular superstitions: such as the ringing of bells and keeping watch during the whole night preceding All Hallows day; the veiling of the cross and the images in churches during Lent, with the ceremony of unveiling these objects on Palm Sunday; and the kneeling before the cross on that day. The King was not satisfied with forbidding these things; one of which could hardly fail of leading to debauchery, and all of which tended to keep up a spirit of superstitious trifling among the people. He also desired that the creeping to the cross[z], and the adoration of it, should be no longer suffered, as being practices plainly condemned by the Second Commandment, as well as by that exposition of it recently promulged in the "Necessary Doctrine[a]." To these farther re-

[z] Probably this practice was decried by the reforming preachers, since one of the opposite party was presented at Cranmer's visitation, in 1543, for recommending the usage by means of the following tale. "As a man was creeping to the cross on a Good Friday, the image loosed itself off the cross, and met the man before he came to the cross, and kissed him." Strype, Mem. Cranm. 150.

[a] "Forasmuch as you make no mention of creeping to the cross, which is a greater abuse than any other, for there you say, *Crucem tuam adoramus Domine*, and the Ordinal saith, *Procedant clerici ad crucem adorandam nudis pedibus*, and after followeth in the same Ordinal, *ponatur crux ante aliquod altare, ubi à populo adorétur*. Which by your own book called a 'Necessary Doctrine,' is against the Second Commandment. Therefore our pleasure is, that the said creeping to the cross shall likewise cease from henceforth, and be abolished, with other the abuses before rehearsed." (Letter from the King to Archbishop Cran-

formations the Archbishop assented, but expressed his wish to have his Majesty's pleasure in these respects accompanied by such judicious explanations as would satisfy rational minds respecting the propriety of what was done.

About this time Cranmer pressed upon the King's notice the propriety of compiling a new body of canon law. In the early part of the year 1544, Parliament had again conferred upon the crown the necessary powers for the completion of this department in English jurisprudence. Still nothing effective was done, and the papal canons, so far as the national authorities would allow them, continued to direct the ecclesiastical courts. While this branch of polity remained in the existing state of uncertainty, Cranmer, with his usual diligence, applied himself to the study of the question, and he seems to have now prepared the draught of a new body of ecclesiastical constitutions. This paper he presented to the King at Hampton Court; and by way of demonstrating the impropriety of allowing the existing system to continue, he extracted for Henry's perusal a collection of passages intermingled with the canons then in force, and broadly asserting the most unjustifiable pretensions that had ever been ad-

mer. Collier, II. 203.) This letter bears an honourable testimony to the diligence with which Henry applied himself to the consideration of questions then agitated, and to his conscientiousness in acting up to his conviction. If also he has not misquoted the Ordinal, he has rendered the idolatry of Romanism, so far as the cross is concerned, a matter of certainty.

vanced by Popes. Of these pretensions the following are samples. "He that acknowledgeth not himself to be under the Bishop of Rome, and that the Bishop of Rome is ordained by God to have primacy over all the world, is a heretic, and cannot be saved, nor is he of the flock of Christ.—The laws of princes, if they be against the canons and decrees of the Bishop of Rome, are of no force nor strength.—All the decrees of the Bishop of Rome ought to be kept perpetually of every man, without any repugnance, as God's word spoken by the mouth of Peter; and whosoever doth not receive them, neither the Catholic faith nor the four evangelists avail him; but he blasphemes the Holy Ghost, and shall have no forgiveness.—All kings, bishops, and nobles, who suffer the Bishop of Rome's decrees to be violated in any thing are accursed, and for ever culpable before God, as transgressors of the Catholic faith.—The see of Rome hath neither spot nor wrinkle in it, nor can it err.—The Bishop of Rome is not bound to any decrees, but he may compel, as well the clergy as the laity, to receive his decrees and canon law.—The Bishop of Rome hath authority to judge all, and especially to discern articles of faith, and that without any counsel; but no man hath authority to judge him, nor to meddle with any thing that he hath judged, neither emperor, king, people, nor clergy; and it is not lawful for any man to dispute his power.—The Bishop of Rome may excommunicate emperors and princes, depose them from their states,

and absolve their subjects from their oath and obedience to them, and so constrain them to rebellion.—The Emperor is the Bishop of Rome's subject, and the Bishop of Rome may revoke the Emperor's sentence in temporal causes.—The Bishop of Rome may be judged of none but of God only; for although he neither regard his own salvation, nor that of any other man, but draw down with himself innumerable people by heaps into hell; yet may no mortal man in this world presume to reprehend him: forsomuch as he is called God, he may not be judged of man, for God may be judged of no man[b].—It appertaineth to the Bishop of Rome to judge which oaths ought to be kept, and which not; and he may absolve subjects from their oath of fidelity, as well as from other oaths.—It belongeth to him also to appoint and command peace and truce to be kept and observed, or not.—The collation of all spiritual promotions appertaineth to the Bishop of Rome.—Laymen may not be judges to any of the clergy, nor compel them to pay their undoubted debts, but the bishops only must be their judges.—All who make, all who observe, and all who execute, statutes contrary to the liberties of the Church, as well as all who do not erase from their statute books such laws made by others, are excommunicated, and that so grievously, as to be capable

[b] "I defy you (Dr. Southey) to produce one instance in which the word 'God,' used *potentialiter* to indicate the Supreme Being, has been applied by any Catholic writer to the Pope." Book of the Roman-catholic Church, p. 128.

of receiving absolution from the Bishop of Rome alone.—It is not lawful for any layman to lay taxes, subsidies, or any charges upon the clergy. —The goods of the Church may in no wise be alienated, but whosoever receiveth or buyeth them, is bound to restitution.—Whosoever teacheth or thinketh of the sacraments otherwise than the see of Rome doth teach and observe, and all they whom the same see doth judge heretics, are excommunicate. And the Bishop of Rome may compel by an oath, all rulers and other people, to observe and cause to be observed, whatsoever the see of Rome shall ordain concerning heresy and the favourers thereof; and the Bishop of Rome may deprive of their dignities those who will not obey.—Remission of sin is obtained by the observing of certain feasts, and by certain pilgrimages in the Jubilee, and other prescribed times, by virtue of the Bishop of Rome's pardons.—He is no man-slayer who slayeth a man excommunicate. —A penitent person can have no remission of his sin but by supplication of the priests[c]." Evident as was the propriety of excusing the English canonists from consulting volumes in which these revolting positions were contained, the Archbishop's application led to no result. It has been commonly supposed that Henry was willing to retain the ecclesiastical law in a state of uncertain-

[c] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. Records, 376. Each division is headed by references to that part of the Romish canon law in which, according to the Cranmerian MS. the matter cited is to be found.

ty, for the purpose of affording to himself opportunities for the exercise of his prerogative. But this supposition casts a shade upon his integrity, which he does not appear to have merited; and besides, the fact is capable of receiving an obvious solution from the divisions upon religious subjects which prevailed in his cabinet[d]. However sincerely his Romish advisers might disapprove the extravagancies of certain Popes and of their hireling sycophants, there can be no doubt that, in the existing posture of affairs, they were anxious to prevent the hand of innovation from fastening upon any thing which the Roman Church had sanctioned.

On the 23d of November[e] was assembled the last Parliament holden in this reign. The warlike operations of the two last summers had completely drained the royal exchequer, notwithstanding the exaction of considerable sums from monied people under the name of a benevolence[f].

[d] "It seems his Highness received advice from the Bishop of Winchester, that, in case the King proceeded to any innovation of this kind, (altering the canon law,) the league now concerting with the Emperor would miscarry." Collier, II. 204.

[e] Herbert, 252.

[f] That this sort of contribution was any thing but voluntary, may be inferred from what Bishop Godwin (Annal. 80.) relates of two aldermen of London, who, proving rather backward in their liberality, were despatched, the one as a soldier to the Scottish border, the other, as a slanderer of the council, to gaol. The unwilling warrior fell into the hands of the enemy, and purchased from him his release by an extravagant ransom. The incarcerated member of the civic aristocracy also suffered severely in his purse before he obtained his enlargement.

For the purpose of remedying this disorder in the national finances, both clergy and laity, especially the former, granted liberal subsidies to the crown. It is not, however, to the credit of this Parliament that its liberality exceeded the bounds of reason and justice. The inducements already offered to the governors of the various charitable foundations scattered throughout England, and to the chantry-priests who were attached to most of the larger churches, had failed of inducing any considerable proportion of these individuals to surrender the revenues of their respective foundations. Under colour of embezzlements and abuses committed by those who managed these establishments, the whole of them were now suppressed, and their revenues placed at the disposal of the crown. But the act proceeded to lengths still more culpable, in giving to the sovereign the power of seizing upon all the revenues of the two Universities[g]. Thus did the servile and ungenerous spirit of the legislature wantonly place in jeopardy those noble foundations which the well-directed munificence of former times had devoted to the cultivation of the human mind, at the very period in which its emancipation from ancient prejudices afforded a reasonable prospect of an important augmentation to their utility[h].

[g] "Upon the King's solemn promise to the Parliament, that all should be done to the glory of God, and common profit of the realm." Herbert, 253.

[h] The two following acts passed at this time also relate to the Church. "That doctors of the civil law, although laymen, who-

Another object obtained by the crown from this Parliament was the legalising of various transfers, or rather surrenders, of property made by the dignitaries of the Church to the sovereign. The large accession of wealth which Henry had acquired from the monasteries, probably, on account of its heavy incumbrances[i], had wholly failed to satisfy the demands made upon him; and those who were dependent upon his bounty, had no sooner witnessed the confiscation of the conventual estates, than they began to cast a longing eye upon the lands and mansions belonging to the national clergy of superior rank. The mass of wealth appropriated to these dignified persons was indeed excessive. The liberality of our ancient sovereigns had endowed the principal prelates and cathedrals with very considerable landed estates, which a long succession of childless incumbents had greatly enlarged and improved. These noble residences and magnificent domains were now represented as unsuitable to the habits which ought to characterise a churchman[k]. To

ther married or unmarried, might exercise all manner of ecclesiastical jurisdiction to which they shall be deputed. That two churches, being not above a mile distant from each other, and one of them not above the yearly value of six pounds, may be united into one." Herbert, 253.

[i] This is one of the causes assigned by Bishop Godwin (Annal. 80.) for the disorder of the King's finances.

[k] It was said, that "it was meet for the bishops not to be troubled ne vexed with temporal affairs in ruling their honours, lordships, and manors; but rather, they having an honest pension of money yearly allowed to them for their hospitality, should

these clamours, apprehensive probably of their evil effect upon the cause of religion, Cranmer consented to give way. So early as the end of that year in which the greater abbeys were suppressed, he exchanged, as it was called, an immense mass of property belonging to his see for other estates derived by the King from the monasteries. The magnitude of this transaction obtained for it the appellation of *the great exchange*[l]. However, the Archbishop appears to have felt an anxiety that the patrimony of the Church should be alienated as little as possible. He generally contrived, in the bargains which he was compelled to make with the crown, to secure some compensation; and he exerted himself to obtain from the King an order to stop the encroachments made by persons in authority upon the revenues of his cathedral[m]. Other prelates possessed not either the Primate's firmness or his good fortune. They largely alienated the property of their sees without acquiring in the room of such sacrifices any thing wearing the semblance of an equivalent[n]. Archbishop Holgate conveyed to the crown seventy manors belonging to the see of York, and obtained in their room certain lands indeed, but not a single manor[o]. Bishop Boner transferred

surrender unto the King's Majesty all their royalties and temporalities." Morice's Relation, drawn up for Archbishop Parker. Strype, Mem. Cranm. 621.

[l] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 404.

[m] Ibid. 196.

[n] Morice's Relation, ut supra, 627.

[o] Collier, II. 207.

to the King considerable estates in Essex. As the legality of such transfers might well be doubted, the legislature at this time interposed its authority to set such questions at rest; and thus was begun, under parliamentary sanction, that system of pillaging the Church, which continued during the whole course of the Tudor rule, except during the brief interval afforded by Mary's reign. The numerous sales, grants, and disadvantageous exchanges, to which the crown compelled the superior clergy to accede during this long period, have placed the dignitaries of the Protestant Church in circumstances very different from those of their Romish predecessors. Perhaps, however, this pillage, had it not proceeded to the length of leaving several sees unprovided with funds sufficient for the respectable maintenance of their incumbents, would be little to be regretted. It is indeed for the interest of religion, that the Church, like every other profession, should possess the means of alluring talent into her service, and of rewarding its exercise. For these purposes, however, an immense mass of wealth is not required, and therefore, although in a political point of view, it does not seem very important whether large estates are possessed by members of the lay or of the clerical aristocracy, yet as the utility of these latter largely depends upon the estimation which they hold in public opinion, it is desirable that their professional resources should not exceed the measure which candour and sufficient information would approve.

It may be safely asserted that the spoliations of the sixteenth century have rendered this kind of service to the English Church, and that in consequence of them her actual resources offer nothing beyond a moderate compensation for the services of men competent to discharge the duties of a liberal profession.

Their parliamentary labours being completed, the two Houses were, on the 24th day of December, addressed from the throne in a speech of considerable length, at once characteristic of the monarch and of the times. The Speaker of the Lower House appears to have saluted the royal ears with the usual strains of fulsome flattery, and Henry received the complimentary harangue with an awkward display of seeming modesty and dictatorial pride. He heartily thanked the Speaker for having so liberally attributed to him good qualities of which he felt himself "both barren and bare;" but he added, that he should consider the commendations bestowed upon him as admonitions inciting him to labour for the acquisition of the excellencies which had been imputed to him. To the pecuniary grant he assigned a character which, certainly, would not apply to the bulk of such concessions to the crown during his reign. The subsidy, he told the Commons, was bestowed "freely, of your own minds, which verily we take in good part, regarding more your kindness than the profit thereof, as he that setteth more by your loving hearts than by your substance." His Majesty then proceeded to assure the legislators that

the revenues of the various eleemosynary and learned establishments, now placed at his disposal, should be so administered as neither to injure the interests of the poor nor the cause of literature. From these observations, suggested by the business of the session, he passed to a view of the religious animosities then agitating the kingdom. He plainly charged both clergy and laity with a gross want of charity; he condemned the prevailing use of opprobrious words, such as "heretic, papist, anabaptist, hypocrite, pharisee;" concluding, that if an alteration for the better in this respect were not soon apparent, he, "whom God had appointed his vicar and high minister upon earth, would see these divisions extinct, and these enormities corrected." After more exhortations and reflections to the same effect, he gave the royal assent to the bills brought up by the Speaker for that purpose, and then, for the last time, he departed from the Parliament-house[p].

Soon after the members were despatched to their respective homes, the two Universities were officially informed of that inauspicious vote by which the ancient patrimony of literature was placed at the mercy of the crown. The intimation was received at those venerable fountains of intellectual light with the deepest concern. In expressing this feeling, Cambridge took the lead. That learned body quickly presented a petition to the King, imploring him "to defend its posses-

[p] Herbert, 253.

sions from the covetous and greedy minds of those who know not learning." Oxford shortly afterwards approached the throne with a similar prayer, which Dr. Richard Cox, dean of the cathedral there, and tutor to the Prince of Wales, endeavoured to strengthen by a private application to Sir William Paget, secretary of state. He wrote to that minister an urgent representation of the necessity for schools, preachers, and asylums for orphans: at the same time he suggested, that the chantry-priests, about to be dismissed from their old employment, ought to be reputably pensioned by the King, not only as an act of justice, but also in order to deprive them of the inducement to become needy parasites, dependent upon the bounty, and pandering to the superstition of other men. "These things," he added, "I speak not as if I distrusted the King's goodness, but because there is such a number of importunate wolves as are able to devour chantries, cathedral churches, universities, and a thousand times as much. Posterity will wonder at us." The two great seats of learning were however relieved, within a short space of time, from their apprehensions. Henry's love for literature would not allow him to place her solidity, and the means of extending her influence, at the mercy of a capricious and selfish world. It was indeed matter of just surprise to foreigners, that the Parliament could carry its servility to such a pitch as to abandon the great national seminaries of learning into the hands of a prince often swayed by the impulse of

the moment, and now pressed by necessity. But the King shewed himself not unworthy of the unlimited confidence which had been reposed in him. He left the two Universities in full possession of their revenues: a wise act of forbearance, which claims for his memory a tribute of respect from all who value England's intellectual strength, and who are aware how effectively its nurture has been pursued in those magnificent retreats, so long consecrated to knowledge[q].

In the early part of the year the attention of intelligent men was generally turned towards Trent, a city hitherto obscure, but now rendered conspicuous by a council assembled in it for the purpose of pronouncing a formal condemnation of the Protestant doctrines. The Pope had appointed three cardinals, John Maria di Monte, Marcellus Cervini, and Reginald Pole, to preside as his legates in this assembly, which was to have been opened in the March of the last year, when the two Italian legates made their entry into Trent[r]. Months, however, rolled away, during which the assembled deliberators transacted no ostensible business, except the adjustment of some formalities; and in the course of which[s], such was his contempt of decency[t], the Pope, in spite of Impe-

[q] Herbert 254.

[r] F. Paul, 113.

[s] "In the end of August." Ibid. 128.

[t] This Pope began his pontificate by a gross indecency. No sooner was he seated in the papal chair, than he addressed to the cardinals an admonition, urging them to reform themselves.

rial opposition and the general murmurs, invested Peter Lewis Farnese, the fruit of his licentious amours, with the duchies of Parma and Placentia. Attempts were made to induce the German Protestants to present themselves at Trent, but they totally refused, because the assembly was called at a place which could hardly be considered in Germany, and because the council was summoned solely by the authority of the Pope, whose see had already condemned their opinions, and must be expected to sway the deliberations of the Trentine divines [u]. As there was no prospect of overcoming these objections, and as every pretence for farther delay was at length exhausted, the council was formally opened upon the 13th day of the last December. Upon that occasion the legates and prelates [x] proceeded in grand state to the cathedral, where the Cardinal di Monte celebrated a mass of the Holy Ghost, and Cornelius de Muis [y], Bishop of Bitonto, delivered a florid harangue by way of sermon. In this laboured discourse the assembled divines were informed, that like the heroes included in the belly of the Trojan horse, for the sake of terminating a disas-

Soon afterwards he raised to the cardinalate two boys, one sixteen years of age, and the other fourteen: the children of his own spurious issue, Peter Lewis Farnese, and Constantia Sforza, F. Paul, 73.

[u] Ibid. 126.

[x] "In number twenty-five." Ibid. 130.

[y] Jurieu's History of the Council of Trent: translated from the French. Lond. 1684. 69.

trous war, they were now congregated in a sequestered town, with a view to heal the wounds which daring heretics had inflicted on the Church. The preacher then apostrophised the groves which clothed the mountain sides around the place, exhorting them to re-echo through the world the voice which must soon emanate from the venerable fathers then before him, and convince mankind, unless blinded by a wilful preference for darkness, that the Roman see had irradiated the religious horizon by a brilliant light. These glittering tropes having run their race, the Bishop turned himself to the divines, whom he exhorted to proceed with pious diligence in the discharge of their arduous labours, and whose exertions, he added, could not fail of benefiting the Church; for even were it possible that men like them should not be directed by an overpowering sense of duty, such was the importance of their commission, that the Holy Ghost would constrain their mouths to utter the truth, as he did the mouths of Balaam and Caiaphas. This sermon occasioned men generally to remark, that the Trentine fathers were compared, even by one of their own body, to the band of treacherous Greeks, pent up in a narrow space, for the purpose of causing a mighty conflagration; that it had been far from usual in recent years to anticipate illumination from the extension of Popery; and that notwithstanding the length of time consumed by the infallible Church in selecting her agents, it was deemed

not impossible that she might have chosen false prophets at last[a].

Before the council proceeded to serious business, it received with much satisfaction[a] the intelligence of Luther's death. That great Reformer, though rather out of health, had consented to leave his home for the purpose of mediating in a dispute which had arisen between the Counts of Mansfeldt; a kind of business which it was his usual practice to decline; but which, in this case, he was induced to undertake at the instance of the house of Mansfeldt, the sovereigns of his family. For the last time he appeared in Eisleben, his native town, where, in spite of increasing indisposition, he not only accomplished the object for which he came, but also once more benefited his compatriots by instructions from the pulpit[b]. An active internal inflammation, however, seized him[c], and quickly brought him to the brink of eternity. On the last evening of his eventful life he took his seat cheerfully at the supper-table, in company with his three sons, and some of his most intimate friends. The conversation turned upon the probability of recognitions taking place between disembodied spirits in a future state. Luther declared himself persuaded, that this satisfaction may be expected by the human soul on its exit from the world; and then finding himself

[a] F. Paul, 132. [d] Ibid. 146.
[b] Sleidan, 262. [c] Robertson's Charles V. III. 64.

oppressed by pain, he reclined upon a couch in the apartment, on which he enjoyed above an hour's refreshing sleep. When he awoke again he was removed into his chamber, where he thus addressed his friends: "Offer up your prayers to God that he would preserve to us the doctrine of the Gospel, for the Pope and the Trentine council are forming dire designs." He then retired to bed, and once more fell asleep; but his rest was short. Soon after midnight he was aroused by pain, and difficulty of breathing; when, sensible that death was now at hand, he thus ejaculated his last earthly devotions: "O, heavenly Father, God of all consolation, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, I render thanks to thee for having revealed to me thy blessed Son; in him, Lord, have I believed, him have I professed, him have I loved, him have I celebrated, in spite of every opposition from Roman popes and impious men. I entreat thee, Lord Jesus Christ, receive my spirit. Heavenly Father, though I be plucked from this mortal life, though this earthy frame must now be laid down, yet I know for certain that I shall ever dwell with thee, and that none can tear me from thy hands." After this prayer was ended, he again, more than once, commended his soul to God; and amidst these aspirations after heaven, he placidly resigned his breath. This event occurred on the 18th of February, when he had attained the age of sixty-three. As death overtook him in his native town, where he had not been for a long time before, the admiring citizens would

fain have buried his remains among themselves; but the Elector of Saxony would not consent to have the body interred in any other place than Wittemberg; and there accordingly, with much funeral pomp, was it allowed to mingle with its parent earth[d].

Italian superstition combined the news of Luther's death with accounts of various extraordinary circumstances said to have attended it, and of course interpreted as happy omens of the good effects to be anticipated from the labours of the Trentine fathers[e]. These divines at length proceeded to discuss matters of importance. The fundamental principles of the Reformers were, that Scripture contains all the knowledge requisite for the attainment of salvation; that by Scripture those books alone are to be understood which Jews and Christians have ever admitted into their respective canons without expressing any doubt as to their authenticity; that, for the purpose of understanding Scripture accurately, men must study the languages in which its originals are composed; and that, being thus competently prepared with critical knowledge, nothing farther is required by the biblical student for the success of his labours, than a humble desire to profit by what he reads. These propositions, however, strike at the root of Romanism; for if Scripture only is to guide the faith of men, her distinctive marks must be abandoned altogether; if the books termed

[d] Sleidan, 263. [e] F. Paul, 149.

apocryphal are to be pronounced of no authority in religious controversy, an opportunity of appealing to what has passed for Scripture in support of some of her tenets, must be lost; if the version of Scripture, long patronised by the Roman Church, be considered as open to criticism, doctrines established solely with reference to it, must lose one of their protections; and if learning and integrity be the only requisites for the right understanding of the Sacred Volume, an infallible Church becomes superfluous. But to abandon what they considered their 'vantage ground, was not the intention either of the Pope, or of his agents at Trent. Accordingly these latter, on the 8th of April, determined, that the revelation of God's will, being contained in the written Word, and in unwritten apostolical traditions, these two were to be received "with equal piety and reverence[f];"

[f] Acts of the Council of Trent, cited by Bishop Marsh. (Comparative View, 23.) In the creed of Pius IV. of which the original Latin is printed in the Collection of Confessions, (Oxford, 1804), and an English translation, in Mr. Butler's Book of the Roman Catholic Church, (p. 5, et seq.) this decree is considerably softened down. In this creed a man is directed to profess, "I most firmly admit and embrace apostolical and ecclesiastical traditions." In the "Summary of Christian Doctrine," prefixed to Dr. Challoner's "Garden of the Soul," (15.) this article of the Romish faith is thus expressed: "These Scriptures thus interpreted (by the Roman Church), together with the traditions of the Apostles, are to be received and admitted by all Christians, for the rule of their faith and practice." Thus it appears, that whatever the Trentine divines may have decreed upon this subject, the modern Romanist is not required to profess his belief of an *equality* between Scripture and tradition. It

that, besides the books of the Old Testament existing in the Hebrew, and universally acknow-

is, however, to be observed, that although Romanists may not avow that they place upon a level apostolical tradition, as it is called, and holy Scripture; yet in fact the peculiarities of their Church are derived from this alleged tradition alone. These peculiarities, so far as they relate to fundamentals, may probably be thus enumerated: 1. The authority of unwritten tradition in matters of faith; 2. The canonicity of the Apocrypha; 3. The exclusive right of the Roman Church to interpret Scripture; 4. The Pope's universal pastorship; 5. Transubstantiation; 6. The propitiatory character of the mass; 7. The invocation of departed spirits; 8. The worship or veneration of visible substances; 9. Purgatory; 10. Indulgences; 11. The necessity of priestly absolution in all cases where it is practicable to obtain it. Of these things no one can be established by reference to what are universally acknowledged as canonical Scriptures; indeed these Scriptures afford undeniable reasons for disbelieving every one of the tenets above enumerated.

There are some disputants who would gladly make it appear, that as to the principle of admitting Scripture and tradition concurrently, both Romanists and Protestants are agreed, but that they differ as to the extent to which this principle ought to be carried. Thus, in "England's Conversion and Reformation Compared," (Antwerp, 1725, p. 48.) it is asked of the Church of England, "Does she not require of every man to believe the indispensable obligation of observing the Christian Sabbath? (against Jews and Sabbatarians.) And where is that *read in Scripture*, or how can it *be proved thereby?* Again: does she not require all true Protestants to believe the validity of infant baptism? (against Anabaptists.) Or does she require of them to believe both the one and the other, without judging the belief of them necessary to salvation? That would be strange indeed. It follows, therefore, that she requires the belief of some articles of faith, as necessary to salvation, which cannot *be read in Scripture, nor proved thereby.*" (XXXIX Art. 6.) The circumstance, however, which this writer has represented as "strange indeed,"

ledged as canonical by the ancient Jews, certain additions which have been made to the Septuagint, but which were not considered canonical by the ancient Jews, which are not cited by Christ or his Apostles, which can be traced to no certain date or author, and which, on these accounts, have been termed Apocryphal[g], are integral parts of

is the truth of the case. The Church of England, in common with most other Protestant churches, approves of the Christian Sabbath and of infant baptism; having good reason to infer from Scripture, that both these practices were in use among the Apostles. As, however, that fact is not capable of absolute proof from the New Testament, the Protestant churches, so far as these usages are concerned, stand upon the same ground as does the Church of Rome. But these things are not articles of faith, nor is an acquiescence in their propriety necessary to salvation. If a Christian fulfil the duties of his profession, no member of the Church of England would be warranted in pronouncing him in a reprobate state, because he deferred baptism until adult age, or chose to repeat it then; or because he preferred Saturday to Sunday as a day devoted to religion. The truth is, that these usages are derived from what is called *ecclesiastical* tradition; that is to say, from a guide in the administering of Church affairs, handed down probably from the apostolic age; but at the same time it is not pretended, that it is a guide which all men are bound to follow by the terms of their Christian profession. Very different is this from what Romanists call apostolical tradition, by which, not matters of discipline, but articles of faith, are obtruded upon the Church, although Scripture is wholly silent as to some of these articles; and no man, unless under Romish guidance, would detect in her language any certain, or even very probable, authority for the rest.

[g] From Ἀπόκρυφα, a word denoting things concealed or obscure; and hence applied to these books on account of their ambiguous character.

the sacred canon[h]; that the Latin Vulgate should be pronounced authentic, and used in all public

[h] It is to be observed, that with respect to the Apocrypha, the Trentine council did little more than follow the council of Carthage, holden in 397, which also pronounced the Apocryphal books canonical. St. Augustine likewise reckons these books parts of the canonical Scriptures. The reason of these judgments is this: the Apocrypha had been incorporated by the Hellenistic Jews into the Septuagint, although it does not appear that they considered it of equal authority with the books translated from the Hebrew; and being thus intermingled with the sacred text, it was rendered, together with it, into Latin; nor until St. Jerome, in the beginning of the fifth century, published his version from the Hebrew original, was it generally known in the West, that the Old Testament, as it usually appeared in a Greek or Latin dress, was not wholly of undoubted authenticity. The canon of Augustine, however, having gained possession in the Latin Church before that of Jerome was known, this latter was not allowed to supersede it, although many learned men would have approved of that step. This concession, however, to the judgment of a few scholars, was not to be expected from the council of Trent, both because Luther had adopted the canon of Jerome, and because the canon of Augustine affords passages supposed to countenance some of the tenets peculiar to Romanism. Thus the 4th chapter of Tobit, the 2d, the 14th, and the 18th chapters of Ecclesiasticus, and the 12th chapter of the second book of Maccabees, are alleged to prove the existence of purgatory. From the same books passages are cited to support the canonization and invocation of saints, and the veneration of relics and images. It is to be noted, that the Apocryphal books admitted as canonical by the Roman Church, are those alone that are included in Augustine's canon, which does not comprise either the two books of Esdras, or the Prayer of Manasses. All the other Apocryphal writings are either inserted separately in the Romish Bibles; or when they purport to form parts of books undoubtedly canonical, as the additions to Esther, and the pieces

lectures, disputation sermons, and expositions; and that Scripture was not to be expounded against the sense holden by the Church, or against the common consent of the fathers [1].

These bold decisions were not made without considerable opposition. A Carmelite friar argued, that if the council should pronounce the Scripture to be an imperfect record of what was revealed to the Apostles, it must follow either that those holy men were forbidden to write the whole of the revelations made to them, or that they wrote at random, omitting some things which it would have been desirable if they had committed to paper. This line of reasoning gave much disgust; and Cardinal Pole characterized it as better suited to a disputation among the German Lutherans, than to a council representing the Universal Church. Upon the canon of Scripture several opinions were broached, but they seem rather to have been upon the propriety of ranking the Old Testament books, as they stand in the Vulgate, into different classes, according to the degree of universality with which they had been received, than upon the propriety of pronouncing any of them strictly apocryphal: however, at last, the canonicity of all the books was affirmed without any distinction. Baruch indeed caused some embarrassment, as it did not appear to have been pronounced canonical by any pope

connected with the history of Daniel, they are incorporated with those books. Bp. Marsh, Comp. View, 5, 6.

[1] F. Paul, 162.

or council. This knot, however, was cut by one of the body, who observed that Baruch, being admitted to supply lessons for the Church, was thereby canonised. This reason sufficed, and that book was appended to Jeremiah. The Vulgate was approved as the authorised version, because the doctrine of the Roman Church, "the mother and mistress of every other," is in a great measure founded by popes and schoolmen upon that version; and because, if the originals were pronounced of importance superior to it, mere critics might be called upon to decide points of faith, instead of bishops and cardinals; and inquisitors, unless versed in Greek and Hebrew, would not be able to proceed against learned heretics. As for declaring the Church the sole expositor of Scripture, it was a matter that seems to have occasioned but little debate, the exercise of private judgment in that particular having given rise, it was said, to numerous heresies. These four decisions, by which the Trentine fathers have gained for themselves an ever-memorable name, were not, however, placed upon exactly the same footing: those reverend personages anathematised all who should presume to doubt, whether, what no inspired author is certainly known to have written, is nevertheless to be considered as having proceeded from some such holy man[k]; and whe-

[k] Father Paul says, that nothing excited more animadversion among these memorable decrees, than that respecting traditions; and that some apologists defended it on account of its ambiguous import. It is a decree, they said, of no real consequence; be-

ther the books, which neither the authorised guardians of the Old Testament ever received, nor Christ or his Apostles ever cited, are, notwithstanding, to be esteemed integral portions of the former volume of inspiration. As for any one who should venture to criticise the Vulgate; or, being neither pope, nor cardinal, nor other person

cause it has not defined which are the traditions so highly honoured, nor how such are to be distinguished; nor has it anathematised any who do not knowingly disparage these traditions, a censure therefore which few are likely to incur, because of the uncertainty in which the subject has been left, (p. 163.) These considerations place the peculiar tenets of Romanism in a most unsatisfactory point of view. If a man be required to admit the truth of Scripture, his belief is reducible to a certain standard; but if he be required to admit the truth of traditions which are not defined, and to which no guide, except Church authority, is supplied, it is obvious that he blindly binds himself to a principle over which his own mind and conscience have no control. Mr. Butler (Book of the Roman Catholic Church, p. 9.) thus states the case respecting the belief of Romanists: "They consider no doctrine to be of faith, unless it have been delivered by divine revelation, and propounded by the Roman Catholic Church as a revealed article of faith." But as no man can certainly know any doctrine to have been divinely revealed unless it is clearly recorded in the written Word, it follows that, in reality, all the Romish doctrines not so recorded, derive their whole authority from the mere assertions of certain ecclesiastics. This in itself is sufficiently unsatisfactory; but the case is rendered worse when it is considered, that the rule of faith being left wholly at the mercy of tradition, or, in other words, at the mercy of authorised Romish expositors, there is no reason why the personages so highly privileged should not require an assent to principles now obsolete or dormant. Such principles are to be found among the records of fathers, popes, and councils, which form the capacious arsenal of tradition.

similarly privileged, should think proper to expound Scripture for himself, he was simply condemned.

The individuals who thus presumed to degrade Scripture, so far as to render her the mere handmaid of tradition[l], and to authenticate a canon of the Old Testament not recognised by Christ or his Apostles, were in number fifty-three. Among them five were cardinals, viz. the three legates, the Cardinal Bishop of Trent, and Cardinal Pacheco, a Spaniard; the remaining forty-eight consisted of bishops, abbots, and generals of religious orders. Among these prelates were Robert Venant, a Scot, Olaus Magnus, a Swede, and Richard Pace, an Englishman, persons pensioned by the Pope; and of whom the first-named was styled at the papal court Archbishop of Armagh, the second, Archbishop of Upsal[m], the third, Bishop of Worcester[n]. Attached to this deliberative body were thirty working divines, almost all friars,

[l] It is obvious, that if tradition is to be the sole authority for some doctrines, and arbitrarily to explain Scripture so as to establish others, what is called the unwritten Word claims the precedence over the record of God's will; since the silence of the latter is not allowed to give a negative testimony against particular doctrines, nor its voice, as interpreted by ordinary critics, to weigh, with respect to others, against the interpretation affixed to it by the Roman Church under the alleged authority of tradition.

[m] Among these prelates, thirty-three were bishops, of whom two were Frenchmen, five were Spaniards, one was an Illyrian, and all the rest were Italians. Sleidan, 283.

[n] Herbert, 257.

who, before serious business was begun, were employed in lauding from the pulpit his Holiness and the council, but who afterwards prepared and discussed the matters which were to be decided. These inferior theologians, however, had no vote[o]. Concerning the general rate of learning and talent attributable to these intrepid judges of most important questions, never formally decided before, different opinions have been entertained[p]. Per-

[o] F. Paul, 150.

[p] "Some thought it strange that five cardinals and forty-eight bishops should so easily define the most principal and important points of religion, never decided before, giving canonical authority to books held for uncertain and apocryphal, making authentical a translation differing from the original, prescribing and restraining the manner to understand the Word of God; neither was there amongst these prelates any one remarkable for learning; some of them were lawyers, perhaps learned in that profession, but of little understanding in religion; few divines, but of less than ordinary sufficiency; the greater number, gentlemen or courtiers; and for their dignities some were only titular, and the major part bishops of so small cities, that, supposing every one to represent his people, it could not be said that one of a thousand in Christendom was represented. But, particularly of Germany, there was not so much as one bishop or divine." (F. Paul, 163.) Mr. Butler, however, (Memoirs of the Engl. Catholics, II. 433.) gives the following account of the Trentine fathers: "That a considerable proportion of the prelates by whom the council was attended, were distinguished by learning, virtue, and enlightened zeal for religion, has never been denied. Perhaps no civil or religious meeting ever possessed a greater assemblage of moral, religious, and intellectual endowment." This commendation does not seem to be applied to any particular period in the history of the council; it is therefore probably to be considered as the writer's general estimate of the Trentine deliberators.

haps the only thing which can be determined upon this subject is, that no one of them has left behind him such intellectual monuments as place him in the highest rank among proficients in theological learning.

While the divines were labouring at Trent to put a plausible appearance upon the doctrines of Romanism, the English cabinet was harassed by the indecisive and expensive character of the French war. Hostilities had been conducted under the walls of Boulogne in a desultory manner during the whole winter. To these an impulse was given by means of an unsuccessful sortie under the Earl of Surrey, who, after that unfortunate affair, was ever planning new devices to annoy the enemy, in order to recover his credit. The King, however, disgusted by Surrey's failure, superseded him by the Earl of Hertford. But before the new commander had an opportunity of distinguishing himself, both Francis and Henry, sensible of the inutility of the contest which was exhausting their resources, became anxious for peace. When the desire of such an object is mutual, it is easily effected; and, accordingly, the terms of pacification were quickly arranged. It was agreed that the King of France should pay, in the course of eight years, the arrears of the pension formerly assigned by him to Henry, together with all the expenses incurred by the latter monarch in improving the fortifications of Boulogne. That town was to be left, during the stipulated time, in the hands of the English, as a security,

on the part of the French, for the fulfilment of their engagements. Scotland was to be considered as included in this peace, unless Henry should have to complain of farther aggressions from that quarter. Thus did England gain, even in appearance, no advantage whatever from the wasteful contest in which she had been engaged, except the possession, during a limited time, of a fortress nowise useful to the nation, and certain to prove the occasion of considerable expense. The peace, however, was proclaimed in London on the 13th of June with great solemnity; and the procession, which formally communicated the joyful news to the citizens, was graced by a display of silver crosses, and embroidered copes, collected from the different parish churches. This was, however, the last display of the kind, as orders were given to transmit these splendid decorations, together with the plate belonging to the different London churches, to the royal treasury and wardrobe. From these places they never were returned, a circumstance which could only be explained under a supposition that his Majesty being apprehensive of a new war, was constrained to use these expensive ornaments for the purpose of aiding in such financial arrangements as another rupture with France would render indispensable [q].

When Henry and Francis had laid aside their hostile attitude, the friendly sentiments with

[q] Herbert, 255, 256.

which they ordinarily regarded each other, began to revive, and with them suggestions to the French court of the advantages to be gained by reforming religion, especially by disclaiming the papal authority. These suggestions were, to appearance, favourably received; and d'Annebaut, the admiral, who was despatched on a mission to England in August, was allowed to discuss with the King, at Hampton Court, the propriety of changing the mass into a communion, and of utterly renouncing all dependence upon the Roman see. Nay, more than this; both monarchs came to something like an understanding that they would join in recommending these reformations to the Emperor, for the benefit of his Flemish subjects at all events. Cranmer was present when Henry was conversing upon these projects with d'Annebaut, and he was desired to prepare some forms suitable for the proposed alteration in the service, and some arguments to justify the change, for the consideration of the French king[r]. The ambassador, however, was suddenly recalled; and it does not appear that the Archbishop was ever

[r] Relation of Archbishop Cranmer to Morice, his secretary. It appears from this account, that the King's ideas of a reformation went farther than it is generally believed. "After the banquet done the first night, the King, leaning upon the ambassador (d'Annebaut) and me (Cranmer), if I should tell what communication between the King's Highness and the said ambassador was had, concerning the establishing of sincere religion, a man would hardly have believed it. Nor I myself had thought the King's Highness had been so forward in those matters as then appeared." Foxe, 1135.

called upon for the papers which he had been desired to make ready. Indeed it was the avowed opinion of Sir William Paget, that the disposition manifested by Francis towards a reformation, was only feigned for the purpose of cajoling Henry into a surrender of Boulogne, without the performance, on the part of the French, of the conditions upon which the restitution of that place was to depend[s]. Nor does this construction, placed by the English minister upon the reception given to his master's recommendations, appear illiberal, when it is recollected that Francis, though constantly negociating with the Pope's enemies both in England and Germany, was a severe persecutor of such among his own subjects as had adopted the principles of the Reformation.

As if for the purpose of convincing the French court that a reformation on the English plan did not involve the necessity of maintaining principles generally deemed heretical, on the 8th of July a royal proclamation was issued, prohibiting the biblical versions of Tyndale and Coverdale, together with the works of Wickliffe, Frith, Barnes, and other similar writers[t]. The possession of these books now rendering men liable to fine and imprisonment, a considerable number of them was soon surrendered to the ecclesiastical authorities, and burnt at St. Paul's Cross[u].

A more exceptionable mode of vindicating the King's orthodoxy was adopted in a persecution

[s] Herbert, 256. [t] Foxe, 1155. [u] Collier, II. 211.

which burst forth against those who denied transubstantiation. The first object of this violence was Nicholas Shaxton, who had nobly resigned the valuable bishopric of Salisbury, rather than disguise his sentiments on the passing of the Six Articles. Ever since his resignation he had languished in prison, and he was now in Bread-street Compter, where he had asserted his disbelief of the corporal presence. For the expression of this opinion he was indicted, and sentenced to the flames. The anticipation of such a miserable death overcame his constancy; when, accordingly, the Bishops Boner and Heath visited him by the King's orders, he admitted the force of their arguments, and signed a paper in which he fully assented to the doctrines of transubstantiation, the propriety of worshipping the consecrated wafer, the reality of a propitiatory sacrifice in the mass, the lawfulness of half-communion, the expediency of auricular confession, and the unlawfulness of marriage in those who are dedicated to God by the taking of holy orders, or who have vowed celibacy[x]. Upon the signing of these admissions, he was pardoned and discharged[y]. He appears, however, to have experienced the usual fate of those who, apparently for some unworthy object, abandon their principles. He lived in obscurity, neglected by all parties, until the reign of Queen Mary, when he came forward as the persecutor of such as maintained the opinions once

[x] Burnet, Hist. Ref. Records, I. 386.

[y] "On the 13th of July." Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 526.

avowed by himself[a]. His services, however, were but moderately rewarded by the party to which he went over. He was merely constituted a suffragan in the diocese of Ely; and in that subordinate situation he ended his life in the year 1556[a].

Another individual of some note, who denied transubstantiation, proved superior at this time to artifice and intimidation. Anne, the second daughter of Sir William Askew[b], of Kelsey in Lincolnshire, married, in obedience to her father, a neighbouring gentleman of opulence named Kyme, who had originally paid his addresses to her elder sister, but had been disappointed by that young lady's death. Anne, being married, conducted herself with propriety towards her husband, and bore to him two children. She was a young woman of extraordinary talents, and like most persons in that age who were smitten with the love of books, much of her time was spent in reading the Bible. The result was, that not being able to discover in the record of wha God has revealed to men any grounds for the peculiar tenets of Romanism, she expressed her disbelief of them. Her husband, enraged at this kind of scepticism, drove her from his house, and she, considering his desertion a virtual release from the marriage tie, resumed the use of her

[a] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 526.

[a] Godwin, de Præsul. Note, 353.

[b] Or Ayscough, which is probably the correct mode of spelling the name, although that in the text, which is used by Foxe, is nearer to the usual pronunciation.

maiden name, and came to London in the hope of obtaining there a legal divorce[c]. While in the metropolis she rendered herself liable to the penalties of the act of Six Articles, by her expressed opinions upon the corporal presence. The immediate occasion of the proceedings instituted against her appears to have been some observations that she made upon the Romish superstition, which assigns a high degree of sanctity to churches, on account of the consecrated wafers retained in them in the pix. This folly she rebuked by saying, in the sublime language of Holy Writ, "The Most High dwelleth not in temples made with hands[d]." Probably, however, the principal cause of the trouble into which she fell was a suspicion entertained by some persons of distinction, hostile to the Reformation, that she was the means of introducing to the Queen, and to other ladies about the court, books which the Roman sect deemed heretical. It was in the last year that she was first apprehended, when, after an examination, first before a London inquest, and subsequently before Bishop Boner, she wrote at the bottom of a recantation tendered to her the following words: "I, Anne Askew, do believe all manner of things contained in the faith of the Catholic Church." As these words contain no specific acknowledgment of any doctrine offered to

[c] Fuller, (Church Hist. 242.) from one of Bale's MSS. Her expectation of a divorce was, probably, founded upon an interpretation which she had affixed to 1 Cor. vii. 15.

[d] Acts vii. 48. xvii. 24.

her approval, and as it was known that by "Catholic" she did not mean to designate exclusively, if at all, the Church of Rome, Boner was exceedingly enraged. However, as her constancy was not to be overcome, he contented himself with inserting in his register the recantation which had been tendered to her, with her name written at the bottom of it; and she was soon after discharged from prison upon bail.

In the present year she was again taken into custody, and examined before the privy council at Greenwich. Her disbelief of transubstantiation was still the ostensible subject of complaint, and her principal examiners were Bishop Gardiner, and Wriothesley the Chancellor. She displayed as usual a thorough acquaintance with Scripture, an undaunted firmness, the most acute discrimination, and a playful vivacity. She, however, proved inaccessible to either arguments or intreaties, and was, in consequence, though dangerously ill, committed to Newgate. Soon afterwards she, and some others, were found guilty of heresy at Guildhall. While she lay under sentence of death Shaxton came to her, and advised her to follow his example in signing a recantation. But she spurned his suggestion, telling him, "It had been good for you if you had never been born." Every artifice of her persecutors having thus far failed, they resolved to try whether her firmness would not yield to the horrors of the rack. Accordingly, she was taken to the Tower, and there strictly

examined as to her connexion with any ladies of the court. She replied that she had no such connexion. She was then told that the King was otherwise informed. Her answer was, "His Highness is deceived in that behalf, as well as imposed upon in other matters." To the disgrace of her persecutors, it appears that she had been left destitute in prison; and they now asked her how, if she had no powerful friends, she had contrived to maintain herself, and to keep up her spirits during her confinement? "My maid," she replied, "bemoaned my wretched condition to the apprentices in the streets, and some of them sent me money, but I never knew their names." She was then told that many ladies had been known to supply her with money, and that some of the council abetted her. "My maid once told me," was the reply, "that a man in a blue coat had given her ten shillings for me, saying that they came from Lady Hertford; and at another time, that a man in a violet coat had given her eight shillings for me, saying that they came from Lady Denny: but whether these accounts are true I have no certain knowledge. I can speak only as to the young woman's report. To the charge of being supported by any of the council, I say, Nay."

All the practised subtlety of her examiners having failed to extract from her any thing to criminate the distinguished ladies who had become obnoxious to the Romish party, she was then placed upon the rack. Long did the barbarians

around her keep this young female[e] stretched upon the diabolical engine. But her firmness proved invincible. She did not even utter a cry[f]. Enraged at being thus foiled, Wriothesley and Rich, to their eternal infamy, tightened the horrid machinery with their own hands[g]. Their unman-

[e] She was twenty-five or six years of age. Fuller, 241.

[f] This account is almost entirely compiled from Anne Askew's own relation, which is preserved in Foxe. (1125, et seq.) A more artless and affecting tale than this is not often met with, and the writer of it must unquestionably have possessed no common talents. Yet in the face of these remains, which are sufficient to substantiate the claim of Anne Askew to a high rank among the pious and intellectual females of England, Parsons, the Jesuit, as cited by Fuller, (Church Hist. 242.) is not ashamed to speak of her with the most unfeeling levity. He blames her "for gadding to Gospel and gossip it at court." Dr. Lingard, in a note, thus mentions her case. "These works (prohibited books) were introduced to the ladies at court by the agency of two females, Anne Bourchier, who was sentenced to the stake by Cranmer in the next reign, and by Anne Kyme, who, leaving her husband to exercise the functions of an apostle under her maiden name of Anne Askew, was, after two recantations, condemned to the flames *by the same prelate*, and several other bishops." It is to be hoped that Dr. Lingard has not thought it worth his while to read what Foxe has preserved respecting Anne Askew. If he had taken this trouble, he would have found that this female "apostle" never recanted at all; that she could not be proved to have had any connexion with the court beyond the receipt of an alms upon two occasions from ladies who might reasonably be supposed to commiserate the sufferings of a young female of birth wholly destitute; and that, although she mentions the Romish Bishops, Boner and Gardiner, among her judges, she says nothing of Cranmer.

[g] "Inter quæstiones, ruptis ad sanguinis effusionem venis, tortorum, qui et ejus, (O res inaudita!) judices erant, immanitatem

liness, however, recoiled upon their own heads. It extorted no crimination of the distinguished persons whom they desired to bring into trouble. At length their victim, when near the last gasp, was released, and she instantly fainted. On her recovery, such was this admirable woman's strength of mind, she maintained, sitting upon the bare floor, a conversation of two hours' continuance with her unfeeling torturers. The injuries, however, which her frame had received upon this occasion never allowed her to walk, or, probably, even to stand again. She was soon afterwards called upon to seal her belief with her blood; but it was found necessary to carry her to Smithfield in a chair, and when arrived there, she appears to have been supported at the stake by means of the chains fastened round her body. Three others, who preferred integrity to life, received with her the crown of martyrdom. These were John Lascelles, a gentleman of the royal household who did not believe in transubstantia-

irrisit." (Bal. Maj. Brit. Script.) The detestable cruelty of Wriothesley and Rich appears to have occasioned some uneasiness to themselves and their friends. Their victim thus wrote a short time before her death to Lascelles, her fellow-sufferer:— "I understand that the council is not a little displeased that it should be reported abroad that I was racked in the Tower. They now say that what they did there was but to fear me. Whereby I perceive they are ashamed of their uncomely doings, and fear much lest the King's Majesty should have information thereof. Wherefore they would have no man to noise it. Well, their cruelty God forgive them." (Foxe, 1129.) The martyrdom of these four sufferers took place on the 16th of July. Herbert, 268.

tion, Nicholas Belenian, a Shropshire clergyman, and John Adams, a poor tailor of London. When the preparations for the execution were completed, Shaxton mounted the pulpit and preached a sermon. The heroic female, who was about to suffer, listened with strict attention to his words, assenting when his doctrine coincided with her own conviction, and when otherwise, observing that he spoke what the Bible would not warrant. After the discourse was over, Wriothesley, the Chancellor, sent to the victims an offer of the King's pardon, on condition of their recantation. Anne Askew thus received the messenger: "I came not hither to deny my Lord and Master." Her fellow-sufferers refused to look upon the instrument tendered to their acceptance. Fire was then communicated to the pile, and the four generous spirits quickly fled beyond the confines of an unfeeling and infatuated world."

While Henry was thus anxious to conciliate the Romanists both at home and abroad, he viewed with considerable impatience the zeal of his Queen on the reforming side. Preachers hostile to Romanism were admitted to exercise their ministry in her Majesty's private apartments, her most confidential friends were imbued with Protestant principles, and publications, denounced as heretical in royal proclamations, found a place upon her table. It is probable that Henry did not disapprove at one time the religious bias which his wife had taken; for his attention had been so keenly turned towards theology during

many years, that he was likely to be pleased with an opportunity of discussing, in his moments of privacy, those subjects which had long occupied a large space in his mind. It is at least certain that his habit was to enter into such discussions with Catharine, and that she, apparently without giving him any offence, often urged upon him the propriety of going forward with the work of reformation. When peace was concluded with France, these recommendations were no longer agreeable; and one day, after his spouse had been repeating them, the King fretfully observed to Bishop Gardiner, on her leaving the room, "A good hearing it is when women become such clerks; and a thing much to my comfort, to come in mine old age to be taught by my wife." This burst of morbid irritability was music in the prelate's ears. He immediately remarked upon "the Queen's presumption in adventuring to set up her opinion against his Majesty's practised judgment; said that her illegal practices had long been observed with pain by the faithful servants of the crown, though from delicacy to their royal master they had been passed over in silence; but that, if it were desired to prevent heresy from terminating in treason, which was its direct tendency, no time must be lost in stopping the Queen in her dangerous career." Henry, whose intellectual vigour was undermined by the complicated diseases under which he was rapidly sinking, became vexed and uneasy during the progress of Gardiner's artful discourse. At last he declared that Catharine,

with her female friends, ought to be punished for their dangerous infractions of the law; and he signified his pleasure that his law-officers should be instructed to proceed against them. The measures necessary for this purpose were immediately taken, and a series of charges against the Queen being drawn up in due form, was submitted to the King and approved by him. This document was conveyed from the royal presence by a member of the privy council, who, in his passage through the palace, allowed it to fall out of his bosom. A friend of the Queen's picked it up, and lost no time in placing it in her hands. Catharine's grief and consternation on seeing this harbinger of fate became so excessive, that they brought on an alarming indisposition [h]. When Henry heard of her illness, he seems to have relented; and after sending his own physician to attend her, he came in person to make enquiries respecting her health.

[h] Dodd says of her, that she "either fell sick or pretended to be so." The following is Dr. Lingard's account:—"She" (the Queen) "not only read the prohibited works: she presumed to argue with her husband, and to dispute the decisions of the head of the Church. Of all men, Henry was least disposed to brook the lectures of a female theologian, and his impatience of contradiction was exasperated by a painful indisposition which confined him to his chamber. The Chancellor and the Bishop of Winchester received orders to prepare articles against Catharine: but the intelligence was conveyed, perhaps designedly, to the Queen, who, repairing to a neighbouring apartment, fell into a succession of fits, and during the intervals made the palace ring with her cries and lamentations. Henry, moved with pity, or perhaps incommoded with the noise, first sent his physician, and was afterwards carried in a chair to console her."

Catharine then expressed herself much concerned at seeing so little of his Majesty, and added, that her uneasiness upon this subject was increased by a lurking fear that she might have been so unfortunate as to have given him some unintentional offence. This leading insinuation, however, was parried by some general expressions of kindness, and after an hour's friendly conversation, the King withdrew to his own apartments. Catharine finding that she had made a favourable impression upon her wayward spouse, and being well aware that no time was to be lost in endeavouring to confirm it, returned his visit upon the following evening, and was very kindly received. Upon this occasion, however, the King, contrary to his recent usage, asked Catharine's opinion upon something relating to religion. "Your Highness," she replied, "needs not to be informed that man was created in the image of God. Hence he is naturally fitted for the contemplation of heavenly things. But as for woman, having been originally formed from man, it is evidently her duty to receive direction in matters of high import from him. Upon this account, any answer of mine to the questions which you are pleased to ask, is wholly immaterial; since, whatever I may say, my judgment at last must be guided wholly by your own." "Not so, by St. Mary," replied the King: "you are become a doctor, Kate, to instruct us, as we take it, and not to be instructed or directed by us." After this sally of ill humour, the Queen rejoined, "Your Highness has mis-

taken me, I fear. It is indeed true that I have often taken the freedom to argue with you upon religious subjects. I have observed that such topics largely occupy your mind; and I have been anxious not only to converse, but even to dispute upon these matters, both because I perceived that, in the heat of discussion, you seemed wholly to forget your infirmities, and because, by drawing forth your abundant stores of information, I doubted not of acquiring much valuable knowledge." Henry was not proof against this. "And is it even so, sweet heart?" he said: "then perfect friends are we now again. It doth me more good to hear these words of thine own mouth, than it would have done had I heard the news of a hundred thousand pounds fallen unto me." He then tenderly embraced his spouse, dismissed her to her own apartment with assurances of his unalterable love, and when she had left his presence, he warmly eulogised to those about him her qualities as a wife.

On the following day Henry took an airing in the garden, and he sent for the Queen to bear him company there. They were both engaged in cheerful discourse, when the Chancellor, Wriothesley, followed by forty of the guard, made his appearance. The King frowned, and Catharine withdrew to a short distance, while Wriothesley approached and knelt before his royal master. The purport of his communication did not transpire; but his Majesty was overheard to dismiss the unwelcome visitor in the following words:

"Knave, fool, beast; avant from my presence." The Queen then approaching her husband, who displayed marks of violent agitation, laboured to soothe him, by representing that, if the Chancellor had given offence, it was most probably not intentionally. "Ah, poor soul," said Henry, "thou little knowest how evil he hath deserved this grace at thy hands. Of my word, sweet heart, he hath been towards thee an arrant knave; and so let him go[i]."

As Bishop Gardiner had, contrary to his usual practice, been the ostensible mover of the attack upon the Queen, Henry conceived towards him the most violent disgust. When he had become suspiciously prominent at the time of the Kentish conspiracy against Cranmer, and of his own secretary's infraction of the law respecting the supremacy, his conduct had only been overlooked in consequence of his personal intreaties to the King, backed by his promises to desist from thwarting the royal policy[k]. Upon this new discovery of his duplicity, orders were given that he should no more be admitted into the royal presence. This prohibition, so galling to his feelings, and so prejudicial to the interests of his party, Gardiner once ventured to disregard upon the terrace at Windsor. There, in the courtly circle, he again met his sovereign's eye; Henry, however, turning to the Chancellor, immediately said, "Did I not command you that he should

[i] Foxe, 1131. [k] Ibid. 1175.

come no more among you?" "My Lord of Winchester," was Wriothesley's reply, "has come to wait upon your Highness with an address, and the offer of a benevolence from his clergy." "Ah, let him then come hither," said the King. The Bishop accordingly came forward, and presented his address[l]. He at another time tendered a written submission to his offended master[m]: but he was not again allowed to take his seat at the council board. It was, however, attempted to conceal from the public at large this circumstance, so plainly indicating the complete decline of Romish influence; and accordingly, when the council sat, the disgraced prelate was in the habit of repairing to court with his brother members, and of remaining there until they returned. Perhaps the severest mortification which Gardiner experienced at this time was his exclusion from the list of the royal executors. When the king was upon the point of undertaking the command in person of the expedition which captured Boulogne, he caused his will to be prepared before he left England. His fast-declining health admonished him, towards the close of the present year, to re-consider that instrument, and he commanded it to be

[l] "By the testification as well of Master Denny, as well as of Sir Henry Neville, who were there present witnesses of the matter." Foxe, 1175.

[m] December 2. "Though whether upon this occasion, (his concern in the attack upon the Queen,) or that he was a special friend to the Duke of Norfolk, who was now also in disgrace with the King, or any other cause, is not there (in the Records) determined." Herbert, 263.

drawn up afresh with the omission of Bishop Gardiner's name. This blow confounded the leading Romanists, and Sir Anthony Brown took occasion to mention the omission as if it had been an oversight. "My Lord of Winchester," said the knight, kneeling at the King's bed-side, "I think by negligence, is left out of your Highness's will. Yet he is one who hath done most painful, long, and notable service; one too, without whom the rest will not be able to overcome the great and weighty affairs committed unto them." "Hold your peace," said the King, "I remembered him well enough, and of good purpose have left him out. For surely if he were in my testament, and one of you, he would cumber you all, and ye should never rule him, he is of so troublesome a nature. Marry, I myself could use him and rule him to all manner of purposes, as seemed good unto me, but so should ye never do: and therefore talk no more of him to me in this behalf." However, Sir Anthony watched for another opportunity, and again suggested the propriety of inserting Gardiner's name among the royal executors. Henry then said, "Have you not yet done to molest me in this matter? If you will not cease farther to trouble me, by the faith I owe to God, I will surely despatch thee out of my will also, and therefore let us hear no more of this matter[n]."

[n] "All this Sir Anthony Denny was heard to report to the Archbishop of Canterbury, of the said Archbishop's secretary, (Morice,) who is yet alive and witness to the same." Foxe, 1175, 6.

The last act of Henry's reign was one which reflects discredit upon his memory. His corpulence had grown so fast upon him, that at length the aid of machinery became necessary, in order to remove him up and down stairs; and the morbid humours, which tainted his unwieldy frame, had found a vent by means of a fetid ulcer in one of his legs[o]; under such complicated bodily ills, he rapidly declined; and all about him, towards the close of the year, plainly saw that his end could not be distant. Probably he became sensible of this himself, and, in consequence, determined upon a measure, conformable indeed to the maxims of an unprincipled policy, but involving a shameful violation of justice. The Howards, from their opulence, their royal descent, and the Duke of Norfolk's attachment to Romanism, were the most important noble family in the kingdom. Their power to embarrass the operations of the government during a protracted minority, was therefore undeniable; nor was it likely that their influence at such a time would fail to be exerted for the purpose of impeding the Reformation; perhaps it might even aim at restoring the Church to her former condition. As, however, the King seems to have been desirous of carrying Protestant principles farther than he had hitherto done[p], it is not

[o] Deposition of Mrs. Elizabeth Holland as to conversations with the Duke of Norfolk. Herbert, 264.

[p] This is reasonably inferred by Foxe, (1176.) from a conversation which the King held, a short time before his death, with the Saxon ambassador.

to be supposed that he looked with any satisfaction upon the greatness of a family able, and probably intending to undo, during the childhood of his successor, all that had been the great distinction of his own reign. He had, besides, lost all confidence in the Romish party. Their incessant intrigues had caused to him so much uneasiness, that he viewed their acquiescence in his principles and policy, as merely a hollow disguise, which they would throw off without the least scruple upon the first favourable opportunity [1].

[1] "The rapid decline of the King's health in the month of November, admonished the Seymours, and their associates, to provide against his approaching death. Repeated consultations were held, and a plan was adopted to remove out of their way the persons whose power and talents they had the greatest reason to fear; the Duke of Norfolk, with his son, and Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester." (Lingard.) The authorities for these statements are Norfolk's declaration in the Tower, charging his troubles upon the Reformers, and Gardiner's offer to prove that he suffered from a conspiracy. The following are Norfolk's words: "Undoubtedly I know not that I have offended any man, or that any man was offended with me, unless it were such as are angry with me for being quick against such as have been accused for Sacramentaries." (Herbert, 265.) The persons thus "angry" with the Duke, were most probably among his own neighbours in the country, and among the Sacramentaries, as they were called, in other parts of England. Norfolk had been instrumental in the burning, most likely on account of transubstantiation, of a man named Rogers, in his own county, in the course of the last summer. (Foxe, 1131.) Nor can it be doubted, that in addition to this prominence in the hateful work of persecution, Norfolk's unpopularity with a certain class was increased by the notorious fact, that whenever the party of which he might be fairly considered the chief, obtained the upper

The misfortunes of the Howards were precipitated by those intolerable evils, family dissensions. The Duke of Norfolk had married Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham; a lady who, becoming jealous of her husband, not without cause as it appears, regarded him with abhorrence. Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, whose disposition, as may be inferred from some youthful follies that he committed, was somewhat headstrong, had quarrelled

hand, some unfortunate persons, denounced by his sect as heretics, were dragged to the stake. The friends, however, of these victims generally possessed no political power: even the Reformers about the King declined the patronage of Zuinglians, a class of Christians to whom most of the victims belonged. The individuals, therefore, whose enmity Norfolk supposed himself to have incurred from his zeal for transubstantiation, must have been in lower life, persons able to do him an injury by means of conversation and the press, but not otherwise. Such an injury, and so provoked, he certainly received, as he complains in the letter above cited, of "the libels cast abroad against him." As for Gardiner's disgrace, the reasons of it assigned by Foxe from respectable contemporary evidence, and which are to be found in the text of this work, will most probably appear to the generality of readers perfectly satisfactory; it cannot, therefore, be ascribed, with any shew of likelihood, to the machinations of "the Seymours and their associates." Bishop Godwin (Annal. 83.) assigns the misfortunes of the Howards to the apprehensions entertained of their power and designs by the King, now harassed and debilitated by disease, and anxious on account of his son's tender age. That if such were the actual state of Henry's mind, his apprehensions were fomented by the Seymours, is not improbable; but there does not appear much reason to believe, that the calamities of the Howards, still less that the disgrace of Gardiner, flowed from a regularly-organized conspiracy.

with his father. The Duchess of Richmond, Norfolk's daughter, sided with the Reformers, and therefore was not upon cordial terms with her family, but especially not so with her brother Surrey. Thus when the influence of the Romish party became totally eclipsed, and the house of Howard was regarded in the highest quarter with distrust and aversion, a jealous wife, an irritated sister, and a discarded mistress, immediately stepped forward with accounts of all the indiscretions that they could fix upon individuals long hateful to them[r].

Both the Earl of Surrey and his father were arrested on the 12th of December[s]. Against Surrey the principal charge preferred appears to have been, that he had quartered upon his shield the arms of Edward the Confessor without any abatement; a proof, it was suggested, of his intention to overturn the government in case of the young prince's succession, by means of a marriage with the Lady Mary, and in virtue of his own descent from the sovereigns of England. Surrey, however, justified his blazonry by the authority of the heralds. But this excuse, which might seem a valid one, was not allowed to have any weight. On the 13th of January the Earl was brought to trial in Guild Hall before a special commission, and a jury consisting of nine knights, and three esquires[t]. He conducted his defence

[r] Herbert, 263. [s] Godwin, Annal. 83.
[t] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 535.

with great spirit and ability[u]; but, although he is not known to have been guilty of any considerable fault beyond an indiscreet display of party spirit, he was convicted of treason, and sentenced to death. On the 19th day of the month he was beheaded on Tower Hill. His fate was greatly commiserated; and, being generally charged upon the Seymours, it fixed upon that family a load of odium from which they never got clear[x]. The Earl of Surrey's memory claims the respect of posterity, because that unfortunate nobleman attained a degree of refinement far from common among persons of birth at that period. His attention was not wholly engrossed by martial exercises, field sports, and boisterous revelry; but, in his case, the splendour of ancestry was heightened, and the leisure of opulence was rendered respectable, by no mean proficiency in elegant literature.

The calamities which had fallen upon his house appear to have broken the Duke of Norfolk's spirits, and he consented to sign, on the 12th of January, a confession, comprising four distinct articles. Of these the first admits his having betrayed the King's secrets; the second, his having neglected to notify in the proper quarter Surrey's assumption of the Confessor's arms, which is designated as "false and traitorous;" the third, his

[u] Herbert, 264. It should be observed, that the Lord Chancellor, Wriothesley, a staunch friend to the Romish party, was one of the commissioners upon Surrey's trial.

[x] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 535.

own assumption of the royal arms of England, differenced by a label, argent, which is admitted to be high treason; in the fourth article he avows, that by these acts he had rendered himself justly liable to an attainder, and to suffer the usual pains and forfeitures consequent upon that measure[y]. On the 19th of the month the Duke addressed an earnest letter of supplication to the King, in which he denied that he had ever offended any man, except on account of transubstantiation, requested that he might be confronted with his accusers, and expressed his willingness to suffer any punishment which he should be proved to have incurred[z]. That, in fact, the Duke had not laid himself open to the lash of the law, appears by far most probable; but his admission of having revealed state secrets, affords a reasonable ground for supposing that he had entered upon some party discussions, boding no good to the government as then conducted, and justly considered by the King as intended to throw the administration, during his son's minority, into the hands of a junta, which he had ceased to regard with the least confidence, and which would probably never rest until Popery was again completely triumphant over the liberties and consciences of Englishmen[a]. . . .

[y] Herbert, 265, 266.

[z] Ibid. 265.

[a] This the King and his Protestant advisers had sufficient reason to infer from the reiterated intrigues of the Romish party: otherwise it is to be observed, that the leaders of that party never

The Duke's confession having failed to mollify the King, the Parliament was assembled for the purpose of attainting the noble prisoner. It was alleged, that his Majesty, being anxious to crown the Prince of Wales, desired to fill up certain offices of state possessed by Norfolk, before he could give definitive orders for that august ceremony. This reason sufficed to quicken the deliberations of the Legislature. On the 18th of January a bill of attainder against the Duke of Norfolk was brought into the Upper House, and read the first time; on the 19th it was read the second time; on the 20th it was read the third time, and passed. The Commons were equally expeditious. They returned the bill, passed, upon the 24th of the month. On the 27th the royal assent was

ceased, during this reign, to disclaim the Pope in the most unqualified manner. The Duke of Norfolk, among other requests addressed from the Tower to the council, desired to have the leave of purchasing Sabellicus, "who doth declare, most of any book that I have read, how the Bishop of Rome from time to time hath usurped his power against all princes, *by their unwise sufferance.*" (Herbert, 265.) In another application which he made to the council, he said, "If I had twenty lives, I would rather have spent them all against him (the Bishop of Rome) than ever he should have any power in this realm; for no man knoweth better than I, by reading of stories, how his usurped power hath increased from time to time. Nor such time as the King's Majesty hath found him his enemy, no living man hath, both in his heart and with his tongue, in this realm, in France, and also to many Scottish gentlemen, spoken more sore against his usurped power than I have done, as I can prove by good witness." Burnet, Hist. Ref. Records, III. 251.

given to it by commission[b];' and thus the chief of the Romanists received the same hard, not to say iniquitous measure, by which his party had succeeded in ridding themselves of Cromwell[c]. Nor, had the King survived another four-and-twenty hours, would Norfolk have escaped the fate which overtook the unfortunate Vicar-general; as he was ordered for execution on the very next morning after the day on which the act of attainder against him became law. It is among the many circumstances which do honour to Cranmer's memory, that he did not participate in the parliamentary proceedings against Norfolk. Whilst the bill of attainder was in progress through the House of Lords, the Archbishop was passing his time at Croydon.

On St. Stephen's day the King's illness became so severe, that he was unable to rise, nor did he quit his bed again. His attendants now became sensible that the struggle could not continue long, but no one ventured to communicate the mournful intelligence to the royal patient. At last Sir

[b] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 537.

[c] The parallel between Cromwell's case and his own appears to have struck the Duke himself, but he does not mention it in that spirit which one would wish to see manifested by a man of his age, and in his circumstances. "My Lords," (he wrote from the Tower), "I trust ye think Cromwell's service and mine hath not been alike; and yet my desire is, to have no more favour shewed to me than was shewed to him, I being present. He was a false man, and surely I am a true poor gentleman." Burnet, Hist. Ref. Records, III. 252.

Anthony Denny, after informing him that his case was considered desperate by the physicians, exhorted him to prepare for his approaching change. Henry felt, most probably, that the announcement was not premature, and he received with the meekness, usual to men at such a time, the religious admonitions of his attendant. "My life," he said, "has been sufficiently fruitful in grounds for self-condemnation; but I doubt not, that through my Saviour's merits, I should obtain the pardon of even greater sins than any that can be laid to my charge." Denny, pleased to hear this Christian-like language from his royal master, then asked him if he would wish to have the advice and consolation of any learned divine? "If I have any such person here," replied the King, "it shall be the Archbishop of Canterbury." "Shall a messenger go for him immediately?" rejoined the knight. "Let me take a little sleep first," said Henry, "and when I awake again I will think more about the matter." After the interval of an hour or more, the King aroused himself, and gave orders to have Cranmer sent for from Croydon immediately. He arrived only in time to witness the departure of his friend and patron. Henry was then speechless, but consciousness still lingered about his sinking frame; and when the Primate came to the bed-side, he firmly grasped his hand. Cranmer used such exhortations as the urgency of the case allowed, and intreated of the dying king to give him some sign of his firm reli-

ance in the merits of Christ. Henry wrung his hand with all the energy that remained to him, and very shortly afterwards expired[d]. Within a few hours of his death the Duke of Norfolk was to have been executed; but as it did not appear advisable to begin a new reign by shedding the blood of the first individual upon the peerage, he was respited, and the sentence was never carried into effect, although the aged noble, during the continuance of King Edward's life, was not released from confinement.

It was early in the morning of the 28th of January when Henry closed his eyes in death. He was then in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and in the thirty-eighth of his reign. He lived in a time distinguished by a very remarkable revolution in human affairs, and he has the merit of having taken the safer side of the question, which divided Europe into two great parties. During nearly five centuries before his accession to the throne, did a large proportion of men, professing themselves Christians, live in forgetfulness of God's recorded Word, and derive some of the most prominent features of their religion from an obscure and unascertained source. At length, in King Henry's time, the absurdity of thus preferring the doubtful to the certain, was urged upon the attention of those who occupied a conspicuous place in European society; and the English monarch

[d] Foxe, 1175.

adopted the only view of the case, which an unprejudiced mind is likely to deem worthy of the least attention. It is perhaps true, that a circumstance, apparently accidental, first led him to doubt the worth of Romish traditions; but, to his credit be it spoken, he was no sooner competently informed upon the points at issue, than he resolutely maintained, to the end of his life, the exclusive right of God's undoubted Word to be the religious instructor of the rational creation. The assertion of this fundamental principle is the brightest distinction of Henry's reign; and from that principle, once firmly established, flowed changes of the utmost importance to England. No sooner was it admitted, that alleged traditions were to lose their long-established influence over the national belief, than, in conformity with the whole course of Scripture, all incentives to idolatry were prevented any longer from tempting at every turn the weak and vulgar. The same cause delivered England from the interference of the Roman Bishops, an order of men, as it was now seen, who could prefer no valid claim to jurisdiction without the limits of their own diocese, who insulted the independence of nations, and who undermined the foundations of sound morality, by pretending to dissolve the most sacred obligations. Nor was it one of the least benefits conferred by Henry upon his native country, that he delivered it from the evil of monastic establishments; those nurseries of idleness, fanaticism,

imposture, and superstition; those strong holds of foreign influence, and unscriptural religion.

It is not, however, to be denied, that in this reign were committed several highly reprehensible acts. The King, though resolute in maintaining whatever principle was firmly rooted in his conviction, frequently permitted a party to bend him to their purposes. Hence cruelties took place at intervals, which form the conspicuous disgrace of his rule, and which have caused Protestants, as well as Romanists, to heap obloquy upon his memory. But the latter are bound in justice to speak of his persecutions and severities with some degree of tenderness. The persons who suffered during his time for the expression of an opinion merely religious, were chiefly such as denied transubstantiation; and the fires which chastised men's disbelief of that doctrine, only blazed when the Romish party had gained the ascendancy in the cabinet. It is indeed probable, that the King's Protestant advisers acquiesced in the propriety of making these terrible examples; because they were infected with a Lutheran horror of Sacramentaries; and hence they never appeared to think, that individuals distinguished by that hated name, were deserving of much commiseration. But however the leading Reformers might have shared in the guilt of these atrocities, so far as lending to them their concurrence, there does not seem any reason for believing that upon them rests the blame of planning such horrid scenes.

When their party stood high in the royal favour, the ferocious passions of men were fed by no spectacles of victims expiring in the flames of Smithfield. It is true, that the stern impartiality of Henry's rule did not consign to the horrors of a public death those religionists alone who saw no reason for bestowing upon a wafer the adoration which Scripture claims for God alone. Some who devoutly bent before this venerated object, were also dragged to execution. As, however, these unfortunate individuals met death in a form something less appalling than did the victims of transubstantiation; so the cause of their fate was very different in kind. It was not the mere expression of an abstract opinion; it was also an active adherence to a hostile foreigner, who pretended to the right of hurling the King from his throne, and who numbered among his most devoted creatures an Englishman of highly illustrious birth ever ready to assist him in asserting that pretended right. The Romanists, therefore, executed for denying the supremacy, were condemned at least as much upon political as upon religious grounds; and it seems most probable, that if Cardinal Pole's infatuation had been less violent, much of the blood shed in support of papal interference, might have been spared. Of cruelty exercised upon no plea of religion after the overthrow of Popery, the cases of the Boleyns, Cromwell, and the Howards, appear to have been the only instances. In the first of these, Henry

suffered inconstancy and jealousy to hurry him on to an act of oppression, which has fixed an indelible stigma upon his memory; but there is every reason to believe, that his evil passions were inflamed by the artifices of the Romish party; in the second case, the suffering individual was unquestionably the victim of that party; and in the third, the unfortunate objects of the King's resentment were the leaders of that party, who seem to have been detected in intrigues, intended to throw the government into their own hands, and those of their associates, in the event of a minority. Thus it appears, that the cruelties of King Henry's reign, though unquestionably casting a black shade over his memory, are mainly, if not entirely, attributable to either the principles or the practices of Romish partizans.

In personal habits Henry was culpable, for he was a sensualist. But he was a man, upon the whole, of considerable merit. His understanding was good, his attainments much above the ordinary standard, his application to business unwearied, his sincerity unimpeached. These good qualities should be allowed to form some counterbalance to the vanity, hastiness, profusion, and sensuality, which blemished his memorable career. It is not, however, the habits of the man, which have given to his reign an interest so uncommon; it is the change wrought in the national mind and polity under his guidance. Upon this account he claims the gratitude of posterity. His govern-

ment, however faulty, restored the nation to the full enjoyment of the most important among its undoubted rights, and transferred the foundations of an Englishman's religion from the fallible authority of man, to the undoubted Word of God, the only certain source of moral and religious truth, the only anchor of a Christian's hope.

THE END.

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